

THE SOCIAL STUDIES



Continuing

The Historical Outlook

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The Social Studies

Continuing The Historical Outlook

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The Social Studies

Continuing The Historical Outlook

VOLUME XXV, NUMBER 8

DECEMBER, 1934

The British Newspapers of Today

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN
Indiana University

The press, both in England and America, has already passed through a great revolution in the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the changes that have come about have not been, in the minds of most thoughtful people, for the better. The severest critics maintain that most newspapers are no longer primarily organs of public opinion, or purveyors of news, but mediums through which merchants disseminate advertisements, and sports syndicates seek to multiply their gate receipts. Not even the most ardent supporter of journalism sufficiently lively for the "jazz age" will deny that the intellectual tone of the daily press has fallen, although he replies that this is because our system of education has taught millions to read without teaching them to think. Catering to the desires of those who cannot or will not think, the popular papers have attempted to interest and amuse its readers without putting any unnecessary strain upon their intelligence. Tabloids and picture papers with the emphasis upon the sensational or bizarre have become the order of the day. The "snappy" editor's motto is, when in doubt, appeal to the emotions or prejudices of the reader. It is most unfortunate that the greater the leisure enjoyed by the laboring classes the less time they seem to have for things of the spirit. Elementary education, the ultra-popular press, the screen and the radio have all attempted the impossible in endeavoring to make intellectual development a painless process. With the millions annually spent on education, American and British youth are no better informed on the fundamentals of public questions than their grandfathers were and their taste in literature and music is incomparably worse. The increasing complexity of society in a highly industrialized age has accentuated the need for careful, thorough instruction in the fundamentals of government, economics and history. American colleges give courses in overcoming sales resistance, selling insurance and commercial advertising, without a real knowledge of political economy as a prerequisite to guide students into an intelligent appreciation of such specialized sub-

jects. In Britain and America, trade papers apparently flourish, while those intended for the *intelligentsia* are dying. The glorious *Edinburgh Review*, the scholarly *Athenaeum*, and the urbane *Westminster Gazette* have all recently disappeared.

The British press has followed the same general lines of development as here. The late W. T. Stead with his *Pall Mall Gazette* was the first modern newspaper *entrepreneur*. A decade later came Lord Northcliffe, a genius in ministering to the desires of the half-educated masses, and in organizing machinery for gathering the news. Dr. William Dibelius, a German writer, admired his efficiency:

The Catholic Church and the Prussian army have been called the only two complete organizations in the world; but as an instrument for influencing day-by-day politics at any given moment, the Northcliffe organization undoubtedly surpassed them, insofar as it knew how to harness not only the idealistic but the most materialistic, nay the lowest instincts of mankind to its chariot, and to use them to achieve its influence.

In the heyday of Northcliffe's career, and basking in his reflected glory, flourished one of the greatest of all British mountebanks, Horatio Bottomley, under whose dazzling editorship *John Bull* in 1917 reached a circulation of a million and a half.

Since Northcliffe's death practically all the British newspapers with large circulation have come under the control of three large combines: the Berry interests, which own the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Sunday* and *Financial Times*, and a considerable number of provincial papers; the second controlled by the Earl of Beaverbrook, who publishes the *Daily Express*, the *Evening Standard*, the *Sunday Express* and other papers; lastly, the most powerful group of all, administered by Lord Rothermere, not only publishes the *Daily Mail*, but the *Evening News*, the *Daily Mirror*, the *Weekly Pictorial*, and other papers, but by means of interlocking directorates controls the Beaverbrook organs as well. The circulation of several of these papers greatly surprises most Americans. Four years ago the *Mail* almost reached the two million mark, although it has since fallen off some 10%. In recent months, by

an unprecedented gift campaign for readers, the *Express* has passed the two million mark, a figure which the rejuvenated *Daily Herald*, the Labor organ, by similar advertising stunts equaled in March, 1934. The amalgamated *News-Chronicle*, a year ago, had a million and four hundred thousand circulation. The *Mirror* and the *Sketch* ("picture papers") both attained a circulation of more than a million. The *Evening News* was almost as popular, and the *Star*, another afternoon paper, has about eight hundred thousand. The *News of the World* (Sunday) with three and a quarter million copies claims, probably with justice, the "largest circulation in the world." All this, too, in a country of a little more than one-third the population of the United States. The *Telegraph*, much enlivened since the days of the Burnham family control, and now priced at a penny, has only recently passed a third of a million. The exceedingly able and still influential *Times* has, unfortunately, a circulation of less than two hundred thousand, whereas the *Manchester Guardian*, a model of perfection for all newspapers, and the *Morning Post*, that staid Tory organ, have much less. Excellent provincial papers, such as the *Liverpool Post*, the *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), the *Yorkshire Post*, and the *Birmingham Post*, fall far below that figure. The tendency, moreover, is toward consolidating these barometers of local opinion with the great London dailies.

Growing circulation has failed to bring increased influence. As organs of public opinion, indeed, it is doubtful whether any (or all) of the popular papers exert a fraction of the influence of the old historic *Times* before Lord Northcliffe sought to give the unintelligent majority what it wanted. The craze for additional circulation has filled the air for years. St. John Ervine, the gifted dramatist and critic, noted:

To obtain readers, and especially registered readers, the newspapers started a system of bribery that has almost become corruption. Insurance policies and prizes of every kind were dangled before the reader to induce him to "register." Expensive canvassers were employed to serenade potential readers or seduce them from their present papers. One "national" newspaper is reported to have spent £10,000 in securing 2000 additional readers! I lately examined a new evening paper in the north of England which was founded by a London "national" press. It contained nearly everything except something to read. It had five competitions and a Free Insurance Scheme, which occupied a large part of the paper. A whole column was devoted to a single competition.

Some years ago, a London-English train was wrecked. Among the thirty people killed were four readers of the *Mail*, to whose relatives it paid \$250,000 insurance. Altogether this paper has paid out some five million dollars insurance against death, accident, and illness. For a season both the *Express* and *Mail* paid \$100,000 for railway casualties. The

Herald, *Express*, *Mail* and *News Chronicle* were said by the *Financial News* to be spending £2,000,000 a year on free gift schemes. Their recent debauch in offering sets of Dickens and a twelve volume encyclopaedia is fresh in the minds of Englishmen. Such "stunts" coupled with extravagant prizes for the solution of cross-word puzzles increased the circulation of these papers without increasing the respect and confidence of their readers. It is a bit mysterious how some papers can pay such large premiums for solutions to cross-word puzzles if all their representations are *bona fide*.

The loss of public confidence in the newspapers dates back before the World War, which tested honest journalism as never before in the furnace of superheated patriotism. The censor kept back much of the truth, but editors kept back still more, because their readers were unwilling to read it, if it were opposed to their own prejudices. This uncertainty among the newspaper proprietors continued after the peace. A bus conductor is supposed to have remarked:

But it's a bit hard on Asquith and Lloyd George now, isn't it, Sir? They've been let down by their three London mornin' papers, so gentlemen tell me. One paper won't speak of Asquith, and another won't speak of Lloyd George, and a third has angered half of its old readers by crying "Hats off to Lloyd George!" . . . Lord, Sir, the newspapers in these days are just killin' the power of words. I never believed 'em when I was in the trenches, and they get worse and worse. They wish to make more muddle than Parliament, and they do! They wish to kill Labour by refusing to print what Labour thinks and says, but they don't! . . . When I was wanted in the trenches I was a darling, Sir. Nothin' was too good for me. Now that I vote Labour I'm a danger to my country, Sir, and unfit to drive a bus with Liberals in it, and Conservative babies in arms.

The tendency of the press barons to color the news led the *Herald* to break forth with:

If Britain wants the stream of truth
To run both deep and clear
It first must dam the Beaverbrook
And drain the Rother mere.

The political inconstancy of the two great newspaper barons has become proverbial. Nominally Conservative, their organs have unqualifiedly supported their party in only two of the last five elections. Throughout these years both *entrepreneurs* have displayed an unusual fondness for Mr. Lloyd George and for forming around him a moderate party, to preserve the nation from reactionaries and socialists. They have sounded the praises of moderate statesmen, who might coöperate with Mr. Lloyd George—a policy distinctly embarrassing to their party—although it is by no means the only matter on which they did not see eye to eye with their own political leaders. Before the election of 1929, the *Post* summarized Rothermere's political creed as "compounded of a lively fear of the Socialists and a ferocious hatred of the Government," and

consistent only "in his bitter and implacable hostility to Mr. Baldwin and his Government," but conceded that Beaverbrook's attitude was the "more subtle and deadly." The *Post* later charged the press barons with the responsibility for Labor's victory in the election of 1929.

However serious these great newspaper proprietors may seem to be with reference to politics, their main interest centers in their circulation, and they have frequently indulged in political "stunts" to augment advertising profits. Their frank disapproval of Baldwin arises in large part from his trenchant criticisms of their methods for seeking political notoriety. In the last few years they have found in the Indian question, the tariff and empire free trade ample opportunity for annoying Baldwin and challenging his position as party leader. For a season they fathered a fourth (nay, even a fifth) political party, which sought votes at some half dozen by-elections in competition with the Conservatives. On one occasion, indeed, their candidate alone opposed the official Conservative, although without success; in another, one of their candidates was elected. This "gingering-up" process made political news much livelier than it otherwise would have been. The story of the Conservative party for the past years has consisted mainly of alternate quarrels and reconciliations between Beaverbrook and Baldwin. Rothermere, meanwhile, has remained petulant and highly critical of his party.

COMPARISONS

The general appearance of the more staid and respectable English periodicals is very different from the same type of paper in America. An English journalist recently said:

The average American upon seeing a British newspaper for the first time wonders whether the boy hasn't made a mistake and handed out a left-over copy from the eighteenth century.

If the London *Times* is compared with the *New York Times*, you first notice that the outside pages are solid advertisements, such as may be found in the classified advertisement at the end of its American prototype. Excluding sports, practically all the important news is on the four inside pages. The editorials are found on the third of these pages, often accompanied by a special article, perhaps on Defoe, or the contemplated addition to the Bodleian, or perchance an account of the latest attempt to scale Mt. Everest. Although more space is devoted to sports than here, it is less sprightly and is not supplemented by pictures of yesterday's batting hero. Both papers pay a great deal of attention to trade and finance. In general, however, such accounts in the London paper are more intelligently written, possibly because stocks and bonds are less mysterious in England than in America. There is

little to choose between the foreign news service of the two, although the English statements seem a bit more authoritative.

The ultra-popular organs have an entirely different appearance. On its first page the *Mail* contains a large number of small illustrated advertisements, whereas the *Express* flaunts only its headlines and little news. The *Herald*, the *Standard*, and the *News-Chronicle* resemble the *Express* occasionally with some small advertisement in the lower right-hand corner. Such local organs as the *Scotsman*, and the *Northern Whig* (Belfast), effect a compromise between the *Times* and the *Mail*. In the main, English advertisements are quite as attractive as in our own newspapers. Probably no American advertisement has attracted more favorable comment than the English cigarette advertisement, "The Man Who Coughed." The cartoons, except in *Punch*, which some Americans persist in calling a humorous paper, and those by Mr. A. M. Low in the *Standard*, are not up to the level of our best American journals. Their comic strips are neither so humorous, nor so flamboyant as ours, though the *Daily Sketch* reproduces our moronic "Bringing up Father." Cross-word puzzles have hung on much longer than in America. Even the staid *Times* finally succumbed. Except in the ultra-popular organs these puzzles are more difficult than those that were so common with us several years ago. Those in the *Times* are exceptionally trying, yet they have a great vogue.

Like their American counterparts, the British newspapers carry a wide variety of advertisements. Those on tobacco are omnipresent and attractive. Although much advertising space in British newspapers is devoted to automobiles, it is neither so great nor so appealing as our own. The radio, however, receives more space. The moving pictures (cinemas) and the "squawkies" receive fully as much space as in American journals, although this may well be because most of them are made in Hollywood, much to the disgust of intelligent Englishmen. Whiskey and other liquor advertisements bring in a large revenue. Advertisements of Guinness's Stout, Watney's Ale, Gordon's Gin greet you everywhere. The *Standard* even featured a "Brewer's Supplement." Patent medicines are extensively advertised, particularly in the more popular organs. Their claims are a bit less extravagant of late, since an English judge ruled that a customer might recover damages, in this case \$25,000, because the goods fell short of the advertiser's claims. The following "bright" advertisement was discovered in the *Scotsman*.

If there is one place in Edinburgh brighter than the street [Princes] outside, it is the "R [oyal] B [ritish]" Bar. It is also brighter than your office; in fact it is the brightest place in

Edinburgh. There are times when you need a degree of brightness—any winter night is one. Don't go home morbid. Don't make your friends morbid. Bring them to the "R.B." You can have first the one drink which you know will make you feel better. (You can have any cocktail.) Then the surroundings do their share. Everything you see is new. Every idea is original, the workmanship and material are entirely British. Prices are moderate, and our business is to please you.

With its emphasis on "bar" and "cocktail," it suggests, despite the disclaimer, an American origin.

Even dour North Ireland occasionally betrays a weakness for frivolity. Even they are guilty of dancing contests, however much they may sneer at American marathons. The *Northern Whig* (Bel-fast) advertised a

Slow fox-trot and tango competition (finals). . . . Open only to amateurs who have not gained a prize in any other competition. Lady Turner will present the prizes.

Note the appeal in the last sentence!

The bulk of the advertising space is devoted to less trivial things. The outstanding London department stores lavishly advertise sales, although their advertisements do not appear with such monotonous regularity as those of the great New York stores. Shops of lesser note choose the papers that cater to people with less to spend. Clothes are so heavily advertised that one wonders whether that accounts for their high prices, even when judged by American standards. Woolen underwear and men's shirts are today definitely higher in London than in New York, although the materials for many of our garments are imported from England!

As the reader glances at an issue of some popular English paper he must occasionally wonder whether he is reading a news sheet or a draper's "ad." Many numbers are more than slightly reminiscent of the *Daily Advertiser* (begun in 1730), which was made up entirely of advertisements, "with a little news as an after thought." Much space is given to athletic men and graceful ladies in radiant underwear. Occasionally page after page features beautiful women arrayed in the most expensive furs at "100 guineas up." Those "ads" may perchance explain why the man "pays and pays" so heavily for his wife's adornment. Even the staid *Times* sandwiches Parliamentary debates between advertisements of Swan pens, Player's tobacco, and Rolls Royce cars. Neither advertising costs nor import duties, however, entirely explain why automobiles cost so much in England. Ford cars made in Britain are priced much higher than in Detroit, although the labor and materials presumably cost less.

Next to advertising, popular papers devote the greatest amount of space to sports. Relatively they stress this phase of life more than American papers do. Whereas they miss the sickening ballyhoo of baseball, in which the tired American business man

takes his exercise vicariously, they have professional football and cricket, which are, perhaps, as bad. But the bane of the English masses is the race course. Two centuries ago Dr. Samuel Johnson assured Englishmen that he knew positively one horse could run faster than another, but his countrymen never have believed him. If the working classes are not backing horses, they are betting on whippet hounds. A Welsh miner may be out of work and have insufficient food for his family, but he will own a whippet, which he backs with a few pennies every Saturday. Like the Arab's horse, it probably receives greater attention than his wife and children.

The laboring classes show far greater interest in horse racing than in America, except perchance in Northern Kentucky. Every shop, factory, or office, employing a few men, will have a pool on Saturday's horse race. On the Derby, or the November handicap, a large proportion of Englishmen place at least a small wager. The Irish have been sufficiently enterprising to capitalize this British weakness to secure large sums for Irish hospitals. In these lotteries the stakes are so large that it is a great temptation to wager a few shillings in the hope of becoming independently wealthy. In recent "sweeps" some of the greater prizes have gone to people totally unemployed. Such news is featured by the popular sheets, with the result that the next "sweep" tends to become larger than the one of the year before. A recent Derby "sweep" brought in over four million pounds, of which Irish charities received one-fourth, and the Free-State one-sixteenth in taxes. The English authorities have attempted to curtail the activity of Irish "sweeps" but with so little success that they are being urged to legalize similar expedients for financing the sorely beset English hospitals. The French have actually succumbed to the temptation of a state lottery. The attention given the Irish "sweeps" by such papers as the *Mail*, the *Standard* and the *News-Chronicle* is astonishing. The *Spectator* takes the *Herald* severely to task for encouraging its laboring class clientele to gamble on the races through its publication of racing tips. A few years ago new betting shops were opened in London with subscriptions of one shilling. One such shop is said to have enrolled four hundred members the first day. The activity of these places has since been declared illegal. The *Northern Whig*, moreover, allowed an enterprising bookmaker (with six telephones) openly to advertise the betting odds he was offering on some fifteen horses in the handicap!

Various papers scream at you to buy Ovaltine, use Palm Olive Shaving Cream, eat Beemax or Kellogg's Corn Flakes, drink Bovril (which were,

indeed, penance enough), take Phospherene, enroll for a course in Pelmanism (strongly recommended by the late Edgar Wallace), and buy empire wines. The cry of patronizing the empire gave way two years ago to the shibboleth "Buy British," which certainly brought great advertising profits to the Beavermere press, regardless of whether or not it increased the consumption of British goods. In one issue the *Northern Whig* ran a page advertisement, headed, "Buy Ulster Goods," while the next page had the caption "Buy British." Verily charity begins at home.

British Sunday papers are less profusely illustrated than our own, but they cost much less. In general, they are a sad lot, except for the *Observer*, which must be highly profitable if one can judge from the advertisements. The pictorial feature of their daily papers is being gradually strengthened. Occasional numbers of the *Weekly Times* are beautifully illustrated in colors. The *Times* contains a page giving the pictures of popular personages, usually those who have just died, along with many beautiful scenic pictures. The *Guardian* is equally conservative, but the *News-Chronicle*, *Express*, *Mail*, *Standard*, and *Herald* all manage to secure pictures of the great, the near-great, but above all the notorious. Some of them specialize in securing pictures of the "scene of the crime." The reader must actually thread his way through a maze of pictures and advertisements to glean the news. The *Northern Whig* usually gives up the last page to pictures of church affairs, educational meetings, and sports, with surprising impartiality. The last page of the *Herald* contains pictures intended primarily for children. Very recently the *Mail* has brought out for boys and girls an eight page illustrated supplement to one of its daily issues.

SOCIETY receives great attention in all the papers. It is stressed most in the ultra-popular press, which is painfully smart. No effort is spared in chronicling the daily life of the so-called social leaders. The recent marriage of the Duke of Kent has, in the last month, monopolized the attention of the press, almost to the exclusion of the diplomatic crisis. These sheets feed on scandal as the vulture upon carrion. One of the regular staff of such papers is at every worth-while social event. He is present at the opening of the portentous (and pretentious) Norchester House, which sets a new standard in comfort (and extravagance) and becomes lyrical in describing the latest "gadgets" in the de luxe bathrooms. He attends the regular court functions, of course, and describes with microscopic detail how the vulgar Countess of Plaza Toro was attired. He is at all the first nights at the theatre and opera. From here he goes on to dine with the Marquis of Westhampton or the Minister for Home De-

fence, proceeding thence to a fashionable (but thoroughly respectable) night club where he dances with the ravishing cinema idol, Hilda Venska (née Bridget O'Flaherty), who is in London resting from her arduous labors in Hollywood, while waiting for the permanent decree for her fourth divorce from her American banker husband. All these things are made the more graphic by pictures of so many of the notables that the cynic wonders who pays the correspondent's expenses as he plays around with the leaders in the different worlds of politics, sport, art, and society. One captious critic suggests that such a correspondent must actually be ninety years of age to have met so many political and social notables, that he could not possibly look more than sixty, and needs possess all the vigor of forty to get around to so many places in a day, lunching meanwhile with premiers and dining with ex-queens. Such features cater to social snobs, who are likely to increase in number, which would be a calamity. That able journalist, Mr. H. W. Nevinnson, caustically remarked:

The numerous picture papers seldom concern me, for what do I care whether Countess this has twins, or Marchioness the other lap-dogs, or Lady the third wears a divided skirt when she goes in pursuit of a wretched little fox with thirty or forty large dogs? After all these things do snobs and the vulgar seek, and I admit that snobs and the vulgar are numerous enough to make silliness pay.

Such emphasis upon social life increases the restlessness and discontent of the laboring classes, particularly the unemployed. The Socialist papers find many a good text in the social columns. The Duchess of Cornmarket spends fifty thousand dollars a year on clothes, while the wife of an unemployed miner has less than half that many pennies to purchase food and clothing and pay the rent for a family of five. The Duke of Racefield spends ten thousand dollars for a polo pony, twenty times the yearly allowance of a soldier invalided out of the army. Recently the *New Leader*, organ of the Labor party's left wing, utilized the present civil list in the same way. The king's uncle receives a pension of \$125,000; a collateral heir of the hero of Trafalgar gets nearly \$500 a week; whereas an old-age pensioner gets but \$125 a year; a newspaper magnate spends £25,000 on a pleasure yacht while Britain had nearly three million unemployed, constantly on the verge of starvation. Such attempts of the popular press to feature the life among the leisure classes may eventually bring forth bitter fruits in the form of bloody class conflicts, for nothing enrages the lower classes so much as the knowledge that the idle, vulgar rich ostentatiously squander vast sums that would keep many poor families in comfort.

THE TOURIST IN ENGLAND

American affairs receive far more notice in the British press than British happenings do here. A few American writers complain that English journals go out of their way to ridicule America and things American. Certainly none of them, save perchance the *National Review*, are as prejudiced against the United States as the *Chicago Tribune* and the Hearst syndicate are against anything English. A great deal of the warmth of American writers on this subject is due to the constitutional aloofness, often amounting to casualness, of the Englishman in his social contacts. The first citizens of Middletown, a popular professor at Great Western University, or the British correspondent of the *Wheatopolis Gazette* is pained at the slight attention he receives in London, which is so accustomed to the presence of greatness that it is not at all impressed by the great or near-great, unless perchance they are movie stars or heavy-weight pugilists, amply supplied with press agents. Consequently, many Americans leave England with their bubble of self-esteem sadly pricked. American travellers are often America's worst enemies. The vulgarity of the *nouveau riche* is bad enough here, but his self-assurance as a European traveller almost staggers belief. His extravagant tipping, his clamant demands for service, and his callous criticisms of everything below the highest standards of twentieth-century America do incalculable harm to more intelligent tourists. Would that there might be tests for intelligence and good breeding on all passport applications! Far worse than all is the false, vulgar propaganda about America proceeding from Hollywood. The emphasis upon crime and risqué society, which are even less representative of the United States than the cockney dialect of London, has done America incalculable harm abroad. Whatever may be their influence on our own youth, the films create an entirely erroneous notion of America in European minds.

American critics of English periodicals are unfair in expecting them to emphasize the humdrum aspects of our life. American newspapers certainly stress the unusual and the bizarre. English papers do the same thing, but they must, largely on account of reasons of space, stress only the more extraordinary American developments. The Lindbergh outrage was the outstanding American news for weeks. The English cannot understand how so dastardly a deed could happen in the most civilized section of America. A great many indignant Americans have felt the same way. Why, then, should we resent the editorial in the *London Times*, headed "A Challenge to Society," after the infant's corpse was discovered.

The English press poked a great deal of fun at our attempt to enforce prohibition, but no one has said harsher things about the breakdown of criminal law administration than did Mr. Hoover. Of course, the late J. Leo Maxse dubbed America Uncle Shylock for our opposition to cancelling war debts, but he was accustomed to lay about him with a heavy hand. To the *Telegraph* the confiscation of a million dollars' worth of liquor in Brooklyn on the eve of the Christmas holidays was justly news, as well as a joke on thirsty New Yorkers. In view of their own chronic state of unemployment, the English were greatly interested in the increase of unemployment in a land which prides itself upon having no "dole." If at times they seem to take a certain smug satisfaction in observing that their own conditions after fourteen years of unemployment seem no worse than in America after only four years of economic depression, they may be pardoned. They may justly find some comfort in observing the stability of their banks and the insolvency of ours—the fundamental reason for which the American Bankers' Association might do well to explain in words of few syllables to our own people. Naturally, they chronicled the failure in October 1931 of 513 banks in the United States involving some \$600,000,000 of deposits, information not readily available in the American papers. The *Times* reported that thirty-two banks in the urban district of Chicago failed in a single month. The English also are greatly interested in our Government deficit, for three years ago they had a ministerial revolution over their own. The cutting of wages in our most highly protected industries interested them in the face of their adoption of tariffs as a remedy for economic depression. They have been strangely tolerant in reporting the daily revelations of gross corruption in the administration of Tammany Hall, leading up to the mayor of New York himself, whom London received so graciously only a short time before. They reported, almost without comment, the facts brought out by the Seabury investigation and the senatorial investigation of Wall Street practices. They are tolerant, almost sympathetic with Roosevelt's "New Deal," and our recognition of Russia.

The Britisher's love of sport is shown in the attention his newspapers pay to American football. The Londoner's "diary" in the *Standard* on the annual Harvard-Yale classic, which was broadcast in England, is interesting:

To-day Harvard plays Yale at football—not 'Soccer' or 'Rugger' but 100% American football with ambulances and Red Cross outfit complete. . . . Yale's gross revenue from football for 1930 was just over a million dollars, or, at the present rate of exchange over £250,000. I imagine the combined receipts of Oxford and Cambridge do not exceed £10,000.

The innovation of football at our most famous educational (and corrective) institution, Sing Sing, brought forth the caption "Football Thrills" in the *Mail*:

Out of the sight of the players, guards with their machine guns were present, to prevent any attempted escapes. Radio carried the play-by-play story to hospital patients and prisoners in condemned cells, while bands were present to enliven the occasion.

British journalists featured our over-advertised and disappointing "Battle of the Century" in contract bridge. The heir to Mr. and Mrs. Tunney was familiarly referred to as the "ten million pound" baby. Miss Katherine Kramer was advertised in England as well as in America as the "perfect secretary." Yehudi Menuhin was well received as an infant prodigy upon the violin, and his modesty was commented upon most favorably in the British press. The Sacco-Vanzetti case was discussed with real restraint and fair-mindedness by the *Times Literary Supplement*, a paper which unfortunately has no counterpart in America. In the British welcome to Mr. Mellon as ambassador, there was no suggestion that "our greatest secretary of the treasury since Hamilton" had no training for so important a diplomatic post. Here again the temptation was great, the forbearance surprising.

The strictures on the British press a few years ago in the *North American Review* by Mr. William C. Lengel seem far too drastic:

The British press is primarily and almost solely responsible for the feeling against America, Americans and things American. The weapon is ridicule. There is a persistent campaign carried on by the Beaverbrook papers. Lord Beaverbrook is a Canadian; the editorial director is an expatriate American, Ralph Blumenfeld [since resigned]. What is characteristic of the Beaverbrook papers is true in almost the same measure of the *Daily Mail* and the *Evening News*. *Punch* does it, so do all the tuppenny weeklies, while the sensational Sunday papers play up our scandals, and our vulgar prosperity, our cheap movies, our war-like prosperity. . . . Vicious, cruel, vindictive. No German hymn of hate could be so pernicious as the propaganda of half-truths on the part of the British press, or so effective in instilling first distrust, then fear, then hate.

The English popular sheets do feature the unusual, the vulgar, the sensational, but they do the same for their own folk. Professor A. B. Hart complained that the English press really gives no adequate conception of American society. Neither does it give any proper idea of French society, nor for that matter of English society. If, as Mr. Lengel claims, the American tourist has been traduced by means of cartoons and interviews, as a "part of a deliberate editorial policy," these American tourists have brought much of it upon themselves in their mania to get their names into the papers.

If the English newspapers are superior to the American as organs of public opinion, it is largely due to the excellence of their correspondence

columns, for their letters to the editor afford an accurate index of what intelligent readers are thinking. Englishmen habitually ventilate their opinions in the press with a frankness that is a bit astonishing to Americans. Their greatest political and economic figures are accustomed to set forth their ideas upon the most important economic, political, and diplomatic problems of the day in letters to the *Times*, the *Guardian*, or the *Post*. Many questions of the greatest general interest, and a multitude that are not, are discussed in intelligent letters to the press. The topics range from the sublime to the ridiculous; from the habits of the American grey squirrel, or the English stoat (weasel) to Britain's policy at Geneva and the advisability of the new tariffs. The correspondence in weekly periodicals such as the *Spectator* and the *New Statesman and Nation* are equally informing upon a wide variety of topics. The *Northern Whig* for a fortnight printed letters containing information on the Ulster dialect. English public opinion has recently been aroused by the enormous list of automobile casualties. The remedies suggested in the main have been most intelligent. These accidents may perchance force the adoption of a new policy forbidding the use of the highways for heavy trucks and *charabancs*, at once saving the railroads from ruin, materially reducing serious accidents and restoring some of the amenities of the English countryside which have been so rudely disturbed by the continuous roar, day and night, of heavily laden trucks. There has been a constant campaign against unnecessary noise. The watchful care of educated Englishmen for the welfare of domestic animals and for the preservation of the architectural beauty of London is a bit astonishing to American readers.

The *Times* in the "Agony Column" has another feature unknown to American journalism. Through it lovelorn couples exchange messages unknown to watchful parents, who might be on the lookout for letters, telegrams, or telephone messages. A few samples are appended for the mystification of the reader:

"Wal.—Please come back: we stand by you. Love.—Mother, Wife, Sister, Herbert."

"Don't hue and cry no trust. Lemons near me, say the bells of St. Mary Church, Sir, please."

"John.—Return at once to Mr. Knight, Bournemouth; everything can be put right if only you are there. Love—Betty."

"I have journeyed long, singing a song in search of . . . T.A."

"Have not forgotten—S. A. L. Y. most in world. Ignore recent letter.—Mine 24th."

Fortunately, perhaps, we cannot fathom what deep seriousness and suffering may be hidden in some of them.

In general, the British press at its worst is yet a bit better than our most sensational newspapers,

while at its best it is considerably more impartial in its news service than are most of our great newspapers. Social and political interests are probably equally influential factors in the press in the two countries, but economic interests play a smaller rôle in influencing the greatest organs of public opinion in England than in America, largely perhaps, on account of the power behind the miscellaneous letters addressed to the editor. The literary sections of their papers are superior to our own of comparable rank, and they pay a more intelligent

attention to music and art. Their criticisms of operas, plays, and books seem more unbiased, and much more critical than those in our newspapers, where so many book reviews suggest the work of mutual admiration societies. Letters to the editor, in English papers, may arouse a host of critics, whose defence of their own views and attacks on those of others are only silenced in the end by the patient editor's closing his columns to further controversy on the subject. Such a lively interest, most unfortunately, is rarely shown in the American press.

What is Likely to be the Effect of the "New Deal" on the Teaching of the Social Sciences?*

GEORGE W. EDDY

South High School, Youngstown, Ohio

Business forecasting has, during the past four years, been dashed upon the rocks of disappointment in business performance. During the time that general business conditions were steadily sagging, from October, 1929, to March, 1933, a hopeful note was constantly given out by those whose income was derived from the manufacture of optimistic predictions of the return of prosperity. One of the best known of the professional forecasters declared about the first of July, 1931, that he would stake his whole reputation on the statement that general business would go no lower. His own chart two weeks later showed a marked decline.

If experienced business forecasters have so signally failed to predict our business conditions, how could a teacher hope to answer the question proposed for discussion this afternoon with any greater degree of certainty? In the first place, we may ask, what is the New Deal more than a name, a plan, a series of Acts of Congress, all constituting a sort of system that has been in force for less than a year and concededly has not yet had time to demonstrate whether it will be in effect a year from now, or be discarded and forgotten, or be giving way to the more stormy methods of strike and revolution?

Out of the muddle of ideas milling about, the following categorical definition of the New Deal was culled from a private letter and printed three weeks ago in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*:

"Some things are clear. There is a large debtor class to be relieved; a small wealthy class to be pared down; a large idle class to be employed; dear

money to be made cheap; cheap commodities to be made dear; low wages to be made high; high salaries to be made low; selfishness to be changed to unselfishness; egotism to altruism; human nature to be reformed."

"It is a full program," exclaims this writer, "—a shot at least at the stars—and what is the Constitution when that is the aim!"

Perhaps both opponents and proponents of the New Deal would be willing to take that statement about as it stands. One's fundamental attitude toward the life of the world will be at once disclosed by one's reaction to these propositions. Are they desirable or undesirable? Are they wise, or foolish? Possible or impossible? Are they to be tossed lightly on the scrap-heap, or are they to be made the objectives of a new social-economic reform, as sweeping and as far-reaching as any great reform attained by humanity in the past? Shall we weigh the possibility of attainment, or shall we plunge into the contest, and if fail we must, at least die fighting?

President Roosevelt's ideas are familiar from his speeches, radio talks, and his book.¹ Yet a good many people seem not to have grasped their import.

"I believe," he writes, "that we are at the threshold of a fundamental change in our economic thought. I believe that in the future we are going to think less about the producer and more about the consumer."

"It is well within the inventive capacity of man . . . to insure that all who are willing and able to

work receive from it at least the necessities of life. In such a system the reward for a day's work will have to be greater, on the average, than it has been, and the reward to capital, especially capital that is superlative, will have to be less.

"We have witnessed not only the unrestrained use of bank deposits in speculation to the detriment of local credit, but we are also aware that this speculation was encouraged by the government itself. I propose that such speculation be discouraged and prevented.

"I believe in the sacredness of private property, which means that I do not believe that it should be subjected to the ruthless manipulation of professional gamblers in the Stock Market and in the corporate system.

"I believe that the government, without becoming a prying bureaucracy, can act as a check or counterbalance to this oligarchy so as to secure initiative, life, a chance to work, and the safety of savings to men and women, rather than safety of exploitation to the exploiters, safety of manipulation to the financial manipulator, safety of unlicensed power to those who would speculate to the bitter end with the welfare and property of other people."

To this clear-cut plan for a more widespread well-being through national economic planning and control, there has been a coolness shown here and there in this country and a skepticism abroad. One writer in a current magazine² declares that, outside of Russia, no modern state has undertaken an experiment which approaches in magnitude or significance this adventure in the United States. The President has not only given power to organized labor, but he has challenged American capitalists to coöperate with him. The failure of Roosevelt, in the opinion of this writer, will mean the end of the political democracy in America; for our system will prove incapable of adaptation to needs of our economic life. If Roosevelt succeeds, a new page in the history of the world will be written.

Here, then, is our proposition in this conference: What is likely to be the effect of the challenge, the call to arms, if you please, for the realization of this New Deal in the economic and social development of the American people? What can social-science teachers do about it?

Professional forecasters have two general methods of operation. One is that of *historical analogy*. Judging the future by the past is at least as old as the days of Patrick Henry, but too often the past is not carefully analyzed and interpreted, owing to lack of pertinent information. Some interesting suggestions may be obtained, however, with regard to any change of attitude or method by social-science teachers by inquiring how far these teachers

have ever seriously tried to influence our institutions by their teaching in the past. How far has the community been willing to take such influence from school teachers? Just at the close of the world war, when Russia was beginning her great experiment and American industrial leaders were about to repudiate the promise of industrial democracy in this country, some States, including New York and Ohio, solemnly passed laws requiring all public school teachers to take oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of the State in which they were teaching. Teachers generally have been conservative and have had the reputation of standing as bulwarks of our form of government and institutions.

The method of historical analogy is often successful and always helpful. It fails, however, whenever new situations arise, or when a new combination of factors of our social or economic system present a problem not previously experienced. To solve such a problem and give a forecast that may have the greatest possible validity, wise forecasters make use of the method of *cross-cut analysis*.

If we adopt the method of cross-cut analysis, we find our country far from the starting place. The present scene shows a nation of more than 120,000,000 people, with a background of more than three centuries on this continent and more than one hundred and fifty years of national independence. This week we have again paid our tribute of respect to the great first American under whose sacrificial service that independence was won and under whose wise and efficient statesmanship our Constitutional system was established. Since his time, however, our country has passed through a long history, marked by many vicissitudes and many political, social, and economic changes. When our Constitution was formed, the institution of human slavery existed in half of the States, and the Constitution contained provisions to guarantee property in slaves. When the Constitution was written, agriculture, with hand implements, and commerce, with wooden ships and no railroads and no telegraph lines, were the principal means of livelihood. When the Constitution was being designed to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," there was no labor class in the United States and no big business corporations that needed to be held in leash by the national government. When the Constitution was framed, nine-tenths of the people of the United States were of English descent, and their ancestors for the most part had, for a century and a half, practiced the principles of the English representative government on this continent. Today all these conditions are changed.

In order to understand a little better the mental and social background of my own students, I have

occasionally taken a census of the place of birth of these students, that of their parents, and of their grandparents. About twelve years ago, I found that in this school, which is probably representative of the growing industrial centers of our country, that 87 per cent of my students were born in Ohio and Pennsylvania. The parents of only 32 per cent, however, were born abroad. Of the foreign-born, one half were born in the British Isles and Germany. Of the grandparents, 36 per cent were born in the United States. One half of the foreign-born were born in the British Isles and one fourth in Germany.

This month I took another census of my one hundred and fifty students, four-fifths of whom are seniors. Of these, I found 110 were born in Ohio, chiefly in Youngstown. Only six were born abroad, and they were from five different countries. The fathers of 77 were born in this country; the fathers of 76 were born in 23 different foreign countries. One third of the mothers were born in 19 different countries. Going back another generation, I found two-thirds of all these students, most of them about to graduate and in three or four years to be voting for governmental officials and policies, had all four grandparents born in exactly 20 different foreign countries! The United States Census reports show this to be the status of Youngstown: 36.8 per cent are native white of native parents; 35.0 per cent, native white of foreign parents; and 19.4 per cent, foreign born. Such is the home background of these students. What would our country be in a generation or two if we did not keep these children in school until they are sixteen or eighteen years of age? In Youngstown, two out of every three persons have foreign-born parents or grandparents. Whereas, ten years ago, our students with foreign-born parentage possessed something of the historic traditions of Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon self-governing institutions; now the great bulk of our high-school graduates have the traditional background of the countries south and east of Germany. The largest numbers are from Poland, the land of Chopin and Paderewski; but with the scattering over twenty different countries, it is not easy to establish a common denominator of historic tradition.

To a teacher who observes the children of these hordes of immigrants, there is a phenomenon of constant miracle! Not only are many of our best students of a near-foreign origin, but many of the members of the National Honor Society show by their names that they originate from the sometimes despised non-Nordic nationalities.

THE BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS

The first consideration of our cross-cut analysis, then, is to understand the mental hereditary basis of the students we are to teach and of the com-

munities that we teachers hope to influence. When our Plymouth and Boston ancestors attempted to establish the Kingdom of God in the wilderness of New England, they talked in the language of the King James Bible, but they had back of them four hundred years of the experience of English statesmen following the granting of Magna Carta by King John. When our American ancestors met to draft the Constitution of 1787, they had the experience of their ancestors in America for one hundred and sixty-eight years after the first meeting of the House of Burgesses in Virginia.

When the English people during the seventeenth century were struggling for the glorious Revolution, it was by standing for the ancient rights of the English people, and they met the doctrine of Divine Right with the declaration that "the voice of the people, in the things of their knowledge, is said to be the voice of God." But the people engaged in that struggle were landholders. When the American government was formed, the declaration was made that all men are created equal and endowed with inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; furthermore, government, which rests upon the consent of the governed, has as its chief function the securing and maintaining of these rights for all men equally. Yet, on account of the abundance of land in the new world, these men were also landowners. In eastern Europe where serfs, freed in the middle of the nineteenth century, were not permitted to own land, the revolution was carried out by the proletariat. Where there had been no background of human rights, the political philosophy was that of nihilism.

It seems evident that any method of attack upon the problem before us that minimizes historical backgrounds and is content to try to accomplish our purpose by a study of current events and newspaper comment, colored by political prejudice and propaganda, will only scratch the surface and is bound to meet with failure.

So far, I have gone back only to 1215. A friend of mine told me that he was having good fun with some Democratic friends by showing the resemblances of the New Deal to the proposals of the Gracchi. My reply was that I had some fear that the modern aristocrats might attempt to check this new movement by the same means used by the Roman aristocrats to end the reforms of the Gracchi. By innuendo and suggestion but without the presentation of facts, a member of Congress, speaking over the radio, lashed himself into a panic of fear that, by the methods of the New Deal, our liberties were in danger of being lost. Honest criticism of the methods of the New Deal had just been invited by General Johnson over the same station during the period previous to the speech of the Congressman.

The next phase of our cross-sectional analysis is the spirit, the personnel, and the equipment of social-science teachers to cope with the problem. To be a little better prepared to speak on this point, I sent out nearly two-hundred copies of the program of this meeting to social-science teachers in junior and senior high schools in Youngstown, Warren, Canton, Akron, and Cleveland. The time was most inauspicious, as the schools were busy closing one semester and beginning another. The replies were sufficiently numerous, I think, to yield a few generalizations. Thirty-six replies were received, ten of them from the out-of-town schools. Of these, thirty were favorable to the New Deal, six were frankly opposed in principle. There was a general feeling that our social-science texts should be rewritten, with more emphasis on present-day problems. An inquiry about particular magazines that had been helpful in classes brought the names of twenty-four periodicals. Those most often mentioned were: *Literary Digest* (11), *Time* (10), *Newspapers* (9), *Current History* (6), *American Observer*, *Current Events*, *New York Times*, *Primer of the New Deal*, *Readers Digest*, *Review of Reviews*, and *Scholastic* (4 each). Others mentioned were *Harpers Monthly*, *Forum*, *Wall Street Journal*, *World News*, *Business Week*, *Outlook*, *Atlantic*, *Pathfinder*, *United States News*, *Nation's Business*, *Uncle Sam's Diary*, and *The Historical Outlook*!

There were many interesting suggestions from which we give a few. "An experimental deal calls for experimental teachings." "A fair-minded presentation, including the right to work." "Ambitions developed along the line of social service, instead of wealth." "Teach stability for the individual and coöperation through the small group." One teacher is actually experimenting with a method that has for its objective, "Education for satisfaction in service with no reward even in promotion." A teacher in the Rubber City exclaimed, "Our pupils are so conservative!" Some of the best expressions were contained in the papers that were answered briefly. One of these after criticizing most of the New Deal methods very clearly states needed reforms in methods of teaching such as, "(1) greater interrelation of these subjects; (2) learning through association, not mere memory; (3) greater emphasis on social, economic, moral, intellectual phases; (4) what and when must give precedence to why and how, (5) textbooks need rewriting and teachers must know more and read without ceasing; (6) different emphasis for exams." One may venture to guess that there is a teacher who has not fallen for the objective tests!

In spite of these interesting suggestions, one finds it impossible to classify these opinions for they are almost as numerous in kind as are the writers.

In other words, there is no unanimity, no majority, nor even a considerable minority group that has any constructive plan to offer. Apparently, with a considerable number of exceptions, our social-science teachers lack the training, business contacts, or experience to plan and carry through any considerable change in teaching the social sciences as suggested by the spirit and method of the New Deal.

THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN

Thirty years ago the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association worked out a plan for the study of history in four-year high schools that had much to commend it. The first two years gave students a European background; the third year gave more mature students a knowledge of the development of English institutions, as a preparation for the study of American history and government in the fourth year. Any student who could carry through such a program had a solid basis for culture and for citizenship. If the problem method of teaching were used, a student so trained would have learned of the dynamic rather than static nature of society and would have learned how to attack current problems. There were certain difficulties with that program. While ancient history is simpler than modern, it has been found too difficult for ninth-grade pupils to get all they should have for permanent use. Modern European history, especially since the World War, is too difficult for tenth-grade pupils to grasp if they are to study the problems which give that course its chief value. Our former experience in Youngstown with a two-year European history course, dividing at about 1648, offered in the tenth and eleventh grades seemed to meet the mental development of the students and to give opportunity for correlation with problems of current events in this and other countries.

The introduction of economics and sociology into our school, together with the adoption of the 6-3-3 plan, has brought about a radical change. The junior high schools insist on giving ancient and medieval history to their ninth-grade pupils, with the result that it has been entirely abandoned in South High School. The entering students elect modern European history as they come to us for the tenth grade. Economics and sociology may be taken in either the junior or senior years. American history and civics, which is required for graduation, is not permitted to be taken before the senior year.

A part of a cross-cut analysis of the present situation should include any evidence of student interest in socio-economic problems during the period of the depression. It has seemed to me that the students in my history classes are much more interested in economic and industrial problems than they were during the depression and strike of 1922.

At that time the students' sympathy was all with the employing classes. The boys all seemed to expect to become expert chemists, metallurgists, or foremen. Now the students seem to be disillusioned by the effects of mergers and the depression upon the lives of well-known people who had given a life-time of service in such positions.

A study of the class lists of South High School over the past ten years shows, if anything, a result the opposite of what one would expect. The greatest interest in economics as shown by the largest percentage of the student body enrolled in economics and sociology was in the year 1926.

The enrollment fell off in 1927, then remained about stationary until 1929 when there was a further decline. During the past four years there has been no percentage increase. Moreover, curves plotted by index numbers, based on 1923-25 as 100, show a decline in percentage of students in their classes in each of the depression years, 1924, 1927, and 1929. The teachers in this department, however, tell me that other influences, such as personnel of teachers and teacher interest in the subject, have a good deal to do with the numbers enrolled. It is evident that no particular effort is being made to interest students in a large way or any attempt to grasp this opportunity to train a body of students to support, as future citizens, the ideals and methods of the new era such as the New Deal contemplates.

Before the teaching by social-science teachers can rise to the present opportunity, there must be a fuller realization of professional interest on the part of the teachers themselves. Before that can happen, there must be a more general recognition of departmental organization in our high schools than at present exists. In many high schools one may question whether there are any social-science teachers. It is a sad commentary on the stability of American life and character that after the late war for democracy, not only business but school organization the country over proceeded to develop a greater centralization of control.

Along with this development went a tendency to assign teachers to classes according to convenience in making schedules, rather than a fitness of the teachers to teach certain subjects. Nothing can discourage further preparation by teachers so much as not to be given a chance to teach what they have prepared to teach. If teachers are to have no voice in the arrangement of courses, there is little use in our meeting in conferences to discuss these problems.

In the old days, when high schools were small and professional requirements slight, both men and women made teaching a stepping stone to something better. Few elderly people were found in high schools except an occasional principal. Now that

our high schools have increased until half the youth of the land of high school age are enrolled, and high professional requirements are imposed by law, the teachers have come to have a vested interest and teaching has become a life-time profession. If the more mature teachers are not to grow stale, dull, and ineffective, there must be some incentive provided by adequate compensation and social recognition and also a greater share in the administration of the schools. Some such inducement is needed before they will be ready to assume the burden of mastering the principles of such a movement as we have under consideration, and undertaking the arduous task of making it a success. There is abundant evidence that teachers might be induced to undertake this task, but it would mean more work, harder study, and greater responsibilities. Perhaps we should not permit any one to hold a teaching position who is not willing to be a perpetual martyr. Many of our teachers have for years devoted their vacations and leisure hours to graduate work for higher degrees or foreign travel and have thrown all of this added equipment enthusiastically into their work for the community. Instead of finding an increase in salary or any expression of public appreciation, they have found organized criticisms of education with salary cuts and tax delinquencies with delinquent salary checks.

There are signs, however, that teachers and school men are interested in such a plan as suggested here. During the past year *School and Society* published no less than ten first class articles dealing with the importance of the teaching profession taking a position of leadership toward a new social order. Ross Stagner declares that "school-teachers are, on problems of economics and politics, the most uniformly illiterate class known."³ "Teaching the rightness of things as they are has been a shibboleth of American education,"⁴ Norman Woolfel exclaims with regard to the proceedings and addresses of the N.E.A. in 1933: "If the ideas and attitude contained therein are really representative of the ranks and file of teachers, as well as of educational leaders, there is little hope that organized public education will play a significant, independently conceived coöperative rôle in the reconstruction." Woolfel believes, however, that education may perform a valuable service and act to prevent the failure of the New Deal, if they will free themselves from "the mental attitude that makes a supreme virtue out of listening to both sides, forever and forever, without ever making a decision."

I shall close this discussion by quoting from the concluding chapter of *Instruction in the Social Studies*:⁵ "With the growing realization of the bankruptcy of many current concepts in economic, political, and social relationships, the implications

for the social studies in the secondary schools are of tremendous importance, and are indicative of the need of a greater measure of responsibility than has ever been assumed heretofore." The author suggests three fitting objectives for teaching the social studies as in his final sentence he anticipates "greater possibilities for the future in terms of the education of youth equipped (1) with an increasing and lasting interest in the social studies, (2) a more adequate understanding of the present social order, and (3) a willingness, on the basis of that understanding, to contribute and to share in those essential pioneering experiences which look toward the possibilities of a better social order."

One of the Pilgrim Fathers made this declaration: "All great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties" and must be "enterprised and

overcome with answerable courages." If the American people can rise from the slough of selfishness and failure to strive for a better era as men have striven in the past, if teachers will become leaders in such a fight,

"God send Rome one such other sight, and
send me there to see!"

* Paper read at the afternoon session of the National Council for the Social Studies, Cleveland, February 24, 1934.

¹ Roosevelt, Franklin D. *Looking Forward*. New York: John Day Co., 1933.

² Laski, Harold J. "The Roosevelt Experiment," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLIII (February, 1934).

³ *School and Society*, XXXIX (January 13, 1934).

⁴ *Progressive Education*, XI (January-February, 1934).

⁵ National Survey of Secondary Education Monograph No. 21; U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1932, No. 17. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933.

History Dons a Straitjacket

WILLIAM CHURCHILL GERRISH

Marietta College

If St. Augustine, that reformed and converted pagan of mighty intellect, had not written *The City of God* and filled a young Spanish monk with zeal for defending the new faith, Orosius might not have taken Clio to wife and their offspring would not have been the jade who inherited only the dominants of the father. As it was, the child was to embody the Christian conception of history for countless centuries and to meet a not untimely death, unwept and unsung, in the mid-nineteenth. Gibbon held no traffic with her and has prospered in consequence. But since Orosius was the Spanish monk in question and Augustine his major enthusiasm, the story fell out as it did.

In the early fifth century Orosius composed his *Contra Paganos*. Taking his cue from the good Bishop of Hippo and like him neglecting the almost exclusively political bias of the Greek and Roman historians, he conceived of history as falling into two classes, political and religious, civil and ecclesiastical, profane and sacred. The "Chronicle" of Eusebius may have suggested these two divisions. History of the first type could be reliably obtained from the Bible, from the first misstep of Adam to the Christian era, and from pagan writers as well. The intervening centuries down to his own day were built up from both pagan and Christian sources also. The flourishing of mighty kingdoms and empires, including the Roman, are reviewed in their order. The growth and expansion of the Christian Church, the *civitas dei*, had provided the theme for the second classification, as contained in *The City*

of God. The mesh through which the facts of history were strained was so nicely woven that all that belonged to other categories filtered through.

Thus did Augustine and Orosius set the fashion. But zeal and industry were only in their first glow. The former whetted his tools, the more skillfully for Orosius to gather from the past only horrors unmitigated, wars, pestilences, famines, battle, murder, and sudden death. He was thus able the more impressively to drive home against pagan critics the smashing argument that the misfortunes of Visigothic invasion and current ills of the body politic were lilliputian as compared with the broodingnagian miseries suffered before Christian worship had emptied the pagan temples and brought neglect upon their shrines. His industry produced an intensified search for useful propaganda. He found it in the Old Testament record of the four parts or divisions of the earth to which had corresponded the rise of the Babylonian Kingdom in the East, the Macedonian in the North, the Carthaginian in the South, and lastly Rome in the West. These were the four great monarchies. Presumably there would be no more. After them the brief rule of anti-Christ and then the apotheosis of the Christian epic through the final victory of the *civitas dei*! This is certainly implied, by Augustine if not by Orosius.

Through the whole preposterous narrative, Orosius discerned the hand of providence. God was in his heavens through it all, pulling down and building up, bringing the mighty conqueror to low estate, exalting him of low degree, supervising, altering, ma-

nipulating. Finally, the necessity for fitting all history into a single time-plan suggested to him its presence in the Bible itself, wherefrom it should be extracted and all other calendars and chronologies reconciled therewith. Basic and reliable of course was the Christian collection, however obscure or contradictory it might appear at some points. Thus did Orosius beget the Christian Clio, bearing no likeness to her mother but the name.

For a thousand years no better compend of general history was available in western Europe. Chronicles and Annals came into being, local often in their scope and interest, influenced at times by the Orosian concept of history, popular in the schools but seldom. Bede praised Orosius, while Otto of Freising knew him well. Many a monastic scriptorium contained the *Contra Paganos* among its treasures. Some hundreds of extant manuscripts of the work testify to its enduring even if not magnificent qualities.

Came the fourteenth century with its diversified energies, humanism among them. Humanist schoolmasters in Italy, with the whole of Quintilian's Institute of Oratory recovered, gazed back upon the educational ideals of ancient Rome. History had then been philosophy teaching by example. So to Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona it was clear that the sons of the despots whom they taught should learn that history was the guide to conduct, that principles of action, laid down by the moralists, were exemplified in concrete acts of the great in the ages that were past.

The love of the classics vaulted the Alps. To Germany it came, to France and Spain. Always the same idea of history's moral value appeared, wherever interest in classical antiquity revived. 'Twas said, too, that there was a saving grace in thus studying history, for you derived benefits from the experience of others at no cost to yourself. Quintilian and Cicero had both said the same thing. So had Polybius before them. A quaint idea, this!

Peter Paul Vergerius remarks: "History, then, gives us the concrete examples of the precepts inculcated by philosophy. The one shows what man should do, the other what men have said and done in the past, and what practical lessons we may draw therefrom for the present day." This was shortly before 1400. In France, Budé was soon saying that history "excites to courageous and fruitful activity the sleeping germs of nobility which lie hidden in every sound nature." To Erasmus, as to the continental humanists in general, history was an adjunct to moral instruction. Vives believed that in studying history, characters worthy of commendation should be chiefly selected.

The first English humanists display no interest in history. Colet does not even mention the subject

in the foundation statutes for his new school. But some of the lesser known and later ones reveal the familiar attitude. In the preface to his translation of Froissart, John Bouchier remarks: "The most profitable thing in this world for the institution of the human life is history. . . . For through its study young men gain vast experience of human affairs, be trained for governance, be stimulated for high deeds, in the field or in the council room, be put in fear of acts reprobable; may, further, by the benefit of history all noble, high and virtuous acts be immortal." Bouchier died in 1533. Some twenty years later in an anonymous volume we read that histories "encourage noble hearts to read their doings by which they may be moved to do worthy deeds and avoid the contrary."

From Henry VIII to Elizabeth a group of scholarly translators were putting the Greek and Latin classics, histories included, into English dress. Deeply impressive, touching too, is it to hear some of them speak out their very hearts in dedicatory epistles and poems. Here is an instance: "Chiefly through the manifold examples, both good and evil contained in Histories, all sorts of people may attain by them, to more knowledge in short space, than otherwise they might in all their lives, if the same were much longer than the common age of man." Another: "For as Master Philip de Commynes sayeth wisely in his history, men do see more in one only book, within three months, than twenty men living in course one after another, can see with the eye." The moral value of histories is similarly emphasized in the following: "In them there be precedents for all cases that may happen, in following the good, in eschewing the evil, in avoiding the inconveniences, and in foreseeing mischiefs." But none of the foregoing can equal an excerpt from a dedicatory epistle to the Duke of Northumberland, dated 1553, for naive assurance or simple faith in an educational principle. Says the writer: "The shortness of a man's life, shortened besides by so many casualties, is the cause that men be taken away before they can get such an actual experience as may make them perfect, and commonly become rotten, before they can attain to a ripeness in knowledge. But by this kind of learning, in youth a man is become aged, he hath knowledge without experience, he is wise before it is looked for, he is become a counsellor the first hour, and a man of war the first day."

Through all this there rings the ancient dictum of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that history is philosophy teaching by example. But there is surely something more. "There the virtues and vices of men do appear how by their good doings they flourished and by their evil acts they decayed." Another translator expresses the same idea: "What can be a greater encouragement to virtue than to see men

raised from low and base degree unto high estate and honor? . . . On the contrary part, what can be a greater dehortation from vice, than to have laid before one's eyes not only the heinousness and enormity of the offense, but also miseries, calamities, shames and punishments worthily ensuing upon the same?" Virtue is inevitably rewarded; vice is certain to be punished. "God's in his heavens; all's right with the world." The Christian conception of history is beginning to merge with the pagan classical as revived by the devotees of the new learning.

Further amalgamation is clearly seen in the emphasis by some of these same translators upon the strange, the terrifying, the unusual as the proper stuff from which history is made. "So many of our own and barbarous cities destroyed, besides earthquakes and plagues, the lives also of princes and tyrants so strange and incredible!" Still another feature of the Orosian concept is in process of combination with humanist ideal, when Andrew Melville was establishing at Glasgow in the 1570s the first formal course in history in Great Britain, and was teaching the students at that university from a volume on the four monarchies by Sleidan. In a word, the profoundly Christian bias of English humanists during the sixteenth century brought into conjunction a pagan classical conception of history and the Christian pattern formulated by Augustine and Orosius in the fifth.

During the seventeenth century the process of producing a chemical compound of the two elements is continuing. With obstinate old Tom Hearne in the early eighteenth century the fusion is complete. Shall we not permit him to speak for himself!

"Ecclesiastical History informs us of what has happened in the State of Religion. Civil History gives an Account of Occurrences in the Civil State. This Division is founded upon the admirable Theology of Saint Austin, in his Method of dividing the Holy Books and all the History of the Church. . . .

"There is a very considerable error crept into Chronology and History which relates to the placing of the Four Monarchies, for they are commonly thought to have succeeded each other immediately." He quotes Bodin with approval in refuting this error and also states emphatically that Nebuchadnezzar's dream did not foretell them. "By all that has been observed, we may collect that those who lay down the Successions of the Four Monarchies for a Ground of Universal History may build upon a deceitful foundation." But observe how the pale muse of history turns in flight when faced by the adversaries of authority and tradition! "Notwithstanding what has been said, we must confess this Doctrine of Bodinus is not entirely to be submitted to. The Many Learned Men, and Orthodox Commentators that have agreed in the exact Succession

of these Four Monarchies and declared them to be the Interpretation of the Visions of Nebuchodonosor Daniel and Zachary, are too great Authorities to be sacrificed to the private opinion of one Man. So that although other Kingdoms and States did indeed flourish during the Times of the three first Empires, such as the Egyptians, Cicyonians, Spartans, Aethiopians and perhaps Chinese, yet these being in their Times the principal, most extensive and most flourishing empires of the World, may very well by way of Excellence be styled the Four successive Monarchies of the Earth. . . .

"If a wicked Prince flourishes in the World, and is by God permitted to Tyrannize over his People, this ought to be considered a Judgment of God Almighty upon that Nation. . . . Although God may make a vicious Prince the Instrument of his Vengeance upon a sinful People, and permit him to Enjoy the Exercise of that Power for a Time; yet to avoid making the Vice seem lovely, after the intended Execution is over, he seldom fails to Humble the Pride of such Tyrants, and bring them, even in this World, to some remarkable and grievous Punishment. . . .

"Chronological Tables figure to us the series and concatenations of Times: We see there, at once, the Rise of Great Monarchies, the Progress they make by impetuous Conquests, and afterwards how they are cantoned and dismembered, and finally dwindle away and disappear, to make Room for others that succeed 'em. . . .

"It is very difficult to compute the Chronology of the Bible exactly, by reason that in the Succession of the Judges of the People of God, and the Kings of Juda and Israel, the Scriptures make no difference between a growing and a compleat Year. . . . Therefore, in Matters of Chronology, we must of necessity be satisfied with Conjectures and Probabilities upon a thousand Occasions. . . .

"The Learned and Thoughtful Part of Mankind do in nothing more agree than in this one Maxim, That Moral Philosophy and History are the two parts of Knowledge which in a more eminent Degree respect the Common Good and Convenience of Mankind. The former giving us Precepts, and the latter showing us the Practise of those Great and Noble Actions, that not only perpetuate our Names here but carry us, indeed, to an Immortal State of Blessedness Hereafter: . . . can anything, next the Precepts of our most Holy Religion, better Form our Minds for Great and Noble Performances, than the Study of this Science? I mean History."

The strait jacket is now finished. When it emerged from the workshop of Orosius in the fifth century, it had confined history to two categories only, the religious and the political. It had restricted the narrative to events of dramatic and conspicuous types.

It had arbitrarily divided political history into the records of the four great monarchies. It had adopted the principle that God ordered human affairs like a mighty chess player. It derived from the Bible alone the time plan or chronological sequence of events into which all human action, profane or sacred, must be fitted. It urged a safe reliance upon tradition and authority.

Humanism in Italy looked backwards over a millennium and a half, and adopted the classical pagan dictum that history was philosophy teaching by example. English humanism combined Christian and classical conceptions, adding to the structure the finishing touch of irrationality by the assertion that history showed the sure reward of virtue and the equally certain punishment of sin.

The unsympathetic temperament of a Thomas Hearne could not be expected to waste a sigh over Clio's plight. Neither Bolingbroke nor Voltaire made large progress in removing the shackles. That was to be delayed till after the mid-nineteenth century. This last chapter in the story is doubtless reasonably familiar to us all.

Humanitarian political philosophy during the eighteenth century began to stress the rights of the average man. Political and civil liberty were among the watchwords. In both the American and French Revolutions attention was directed to the part being played in the unfolding of events by great masses of the hitherto neglected third estate. The beginnings of the labor movement in England and agitation for Parliamentary reform, social forces observable in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, were part of the same trend. The mesh through which historical facts had been strained for some fifteen centuries had got to be so reconstructed that social, economic, and industrial affairs would now be caught.

The labors of Sir Charles Lyell in demonstrating the antiquity of the earth and man's considerable sojourn thereon played hob with Archbishop Usher's seventeenth century chronology, by which the Lord had been seen commencing his special creation of the world in 4004 B.C., on Friday morning, October 28. Was it at nine A.M. that the Creator had begun his task? *Kulturgeschichte* was soon making plain the variety and diversity of man's interests

and activities and suggesting the by-no-means remote possibility that a history of fans and their employment through feminine wiles might on occasion be more important to the historian than full knowledge regarding the four monarchies or the Council of Chalcedon. With Darwin's publication of the *Origin of Species* in 1859, evolutionary or genetic history could soon begin its progress toward complete twentieth century recognition. Finally, and through it all, the figure of God as the mighty chess player faded into obscurity, while the ability of the historian to point to authentic evidence of the devil's handiwork was asserted with decreasing confidence.

No one part of the mechanical device which had constrained the muse of history has been so long a'dying as the English Christian humanist idea that moral values derived from historical studies will aid in the final triumph of virtue over vice, and this because the former provides its blessed rewards, while the wages of sin is death. Said a distinguished professor recently to a group of educators, "Crime is due, not to a faulty administration of the law so much as to a breakdown in the teaching of moral principle. . . . How implant abiding faith in abstract eternal verities in young minds? I know of no way so effective and so powerful as bringing children into contact with the lives of those who have most nobly exemplified by their living and by their teaching these abiding principles, and letting such heroes win their loyalty and their imagination. Let school children be told of the exploits of David Livingstone or read of the stirring life of Wilfred Grenfell, and their imaginations will at once begin to build their characters in constructive ways." A pleasing fiction!

We are at least permitted today to see what the historic past really has been. Clio's shackles are struck off and the straitjacket relegated to the junk pile. Is it too much to hope that soon we shall attempt to discover what values historical study may have for those who seek a reconstructed social order, wherein the welfare of all men is safeguarded? Had history not been crushed into a straitjacket for fifteen centuries, mayhap a Marsiglio of Padua, a Milton, or a Hearne, would have directed attention centuries earlier to this vital problem.

Dr. Gooch writes of "The Terror in Germany" for the August *Contemporary Review*. He holds that the Nazis have no friends beyond their frontiers, and that the prestige of Hitler among his own people has waned rapidly since the June massacres.

An interesting corollary to this article is M. Shigemitsu's statement in *The Far Eastern Review* for July that Chinese recognition of the Japanese status in Manchuria is the only permanent solution of the Manchurian problem.

Social Studies Libraries and Laboratories and their Use in the Junior High Schools of Pasadena California

J. O. McCLINTIC

Washington High School, Pasadena, California

In order to properly understand the reason for the classroom library set-up as used in the Pasadena junior high-schools' social-studies work, it is essential to understand the method that is used in setting up the courses of study and spheres of work.

Our classes are divided according to semesters in the various grade levels. For example, the first semester class of the 7th grade is known as 7-1, the second semester as 7-2, etc.

Under the supervision of nationally recognized curriculum advisers, courses of study have been formulated for each of these semester grade levels, with all fitting into central developmental threads over the junior high-school period. These courses are organized around particular threads of development, rather than any particular textbook. In other words, the courses are formulated and then materials provided which will best cover these topics.

In California, free textbooks are provided in the junior high schools. Obviously, if each student in a particular grade level is provided with a textbook for his own particular use, a very large number of books is involved, and it is equally obvious that each must use the same text. Therefore the following method has been developed, in order to provide the richness so much desired for better teaching:

For each grade level, a certain room is specified. Then the classes for this grade level (let us use 7-1 for our example) are assigned to this room. This means that throughout the day the 7-1 classes come to this room. Instead of providing a single text for each of these students, the room is provided with appropriate shelves and is equipped with a library suited to the work of this grade level. No single set of books in use need be larger in number than the largest class coming into the room; and often half this number is sufficient, due to the fact that some students will be using one book while others will be using a different one. In some instances where the use is not so great, a proportionately smaller number will be provided.

If, for example, we have six classes coming to the room, with a total of 200 students, a text for each would mean 200 copies of one book. With the classroom library, the same number of books would provide several sets or partial sets of *different* books, making possible a richness and variety not otherwise available. Each group of pupils makes use of these materials, as would anyone surrounded by shelves of different books.

In order to make possible use of these materials at times other than during the class periods, all books have been equipped with pockets and cards for checking out. In each of our social-studies rooms we are assisted by dependable students, two to each room, who handle the checking out of books and their return. These students are excused from their last period class two minutes before the dismissal bell and go at once to their posts in order to be on hand before requests for books are made for overnight use. Then they are on hand the following morning some five minutes before other students are permitted to enter the building and receive the books as they are returned, ready for use during the day.

Since the normal period of time for permitting students to enter the building is ten minutes before the first period starts, the student helpers spend, on an average, fifteen minutes each morning in checking in books which have been taken out the previous afternoon. A similar amount of time for checking out books in the afternoons has been found ample.

USING THE MATERIALS

To get the best possible results from our materials necessitates quite a great deal of care in the making of assignments. Our courses of study are formulated from the problem viewpoint, with quite a varied and rich assortment of suggested reading material and possible projects available for individual study in addition to the fundamental references considered the minimum. The basic material

is usually contained in the regular sets of books located in the classroom. Sometimes an assignment will be found in one basic reference, at other times several will be used for the assignment. Pupils easily become trained to go without confusion to the classroom shelves and get whatever reference is needed, returning at the same time whatever book they have previously been using. At a warning bell which sounds at two minutes before the final bell, the individuals sitting in the rear seat of each row of chairs collect the books for the row, returning them to the proper shelves, at the same time checking to see if the total number of each kind tallies with a convenient list posted on the shelves. Of necessity, the teacher must maintain careful supervision, but the greater breadth of possible results is abundantly worth whatever trouble is experienced.

The amount of available pamphlet material depends on the initiative of each teacher and the central library supply. In some of the junior high schools a quite complete list of pamphlets has been built up, with appropriate covers, pockets and cards, and these may be used in the classroom in the same manner as are other books from the central library. Remarkable freedom has been developed in such use of central library pamphlets and books. Whenever individual books relating to the topic being studied are wished by the classroom teacher, these are checked to the classroom and put on the shelves there during such time as the course of study or the nature of the work requires. At the end of the active period of use, these copies are returned to the central library. Thus it may be seen that the materials available in the building are given the widest possible use. Used in this manner, a citation to a supplementary book becomes something more than a random chance; it becomes a reference to a source which is immediately available at the time and place it is needed. Since the policy is to use at least one-half of the classroom time for study purposes, it may be seen that the most closely supervised directions may be made and followed up.

In making these assignments, some of the teachers make use of a mimeographed sheet with essential topic problems, basic references, suggested supplementary references and projects, etc., indicated on the assignment sheet. This may be used in a flexible manner, and is entirely voluntary with each teacher as to whether such use shall be made and if so, to what extent. There is no stereotyped requirement as to such use.

In the ninth and tenth years, each student has a full period for study scheduled. It has been a part of the policy of the school administrators to assign in many instances social-studies teachers as the teachers in charge. This has the effect of making available a competent individual to aid any stu-

dents of social studies who need such help during their study period.

MAGAZINES

The handling of magazines has not been entirely satisfactory. To date, these have been kept in the central library for two or three issues, and then little else has been done, except where binding is done. However, planning is being done in at least one of the junior high schools to make these magazines fill a more complete function. If possible, it will be attempted to put some sort of suitable cover on the magazines, properly identify each copy, and then assign each magazine to the grade level classroom where that particular magazine may be used to the best advantage. It would then become a rather permanent part of the equipment of this room, much in the same manner as is the basic library for that room or grade level. Anyone at any time wishing to make use of one of these magazines would go to this particular room in order to use or check it out. This plan has not yet been used, but considerable thought is being given to it, and it is hoped that a thorough trial may be made in the near future.

BUDGET ALLOWANCES FOR SOCIAL STUDIES, BOTH CLASSROOM AND CENTRAL LIBRARY

When the present plan of organization was installed several years ago, naturally there arose the necessity for an initial outlay which would not afterwards be duplicated as to amount. Replacements are necessary, however, and as the basic textbooks are adopted for a period of four years there is a recurring outlay for any subsequent adoptions. In the event of the adoption of a different book, when in the case of an adoption running out, the outdated book is still available for reference use if its physical condition and the nature of the material contained in it make such use desirable. This fact accounts in several instances for a greater distribution of kinds of books for classroom use than otherwise would be the case.

Using the figures for the last five years for one of our representative Pasadena junior high schools, the budget figures are approximately as follows:

1. For the social-studies material for the central library, a yearly average of \$192.00. This is the last five years, which means two years of what might be called pre-depression expenditure, and three years of depression expenditure.

2. For the expenditure for all classroom books, for all social studies rooms (normally six laboratories), the five year average is approximately \$400.00, or an average of about \$65.00 or \$70.00 per room per year. This includes the initial outlay necessary in the equipping of all six rooms when the plan was first put into effect.

REPRESENTATIVE EQUIPMENT FOR EACH GRADE LEVEL ROOM

Before giving the equipment of these rooms, it is important to note that in all classroom laboratories, sets of books which are not in use (for periods of time as long as several weeks) are returned to the central library stacks until needed; therefore, all the books submitted below are rarely found in a classroom laboratory at any one time.

1. For the 7-1 grade level.

This half-year of work deals very largely with events leading up to the discovery, exploration, and settlement of America by Europeans, and the early life and development of the colonies. The basic books used, with approximate numbers of each title, are:

Beard and Bagley, *History of the United States* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 40
Chadsey, Weinberg, and Miller, *America in the Making*

I, II 5
Jenks and Smith, *We and Our Government* 10
Rugg, *History of American Civilization* 40
Rugg, *History of American Government and Culture* .. 20
Tryon and Lingley, *Story of Our Nation* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 40
Vollintine, *The Making of America* 20
West and West, *Our Country* 20

Individual copies which go into the classroom from the central library during appropriate periods of study include such titles as the following representatives:

Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*
Faris, *Real Stories From Our History*
McElroy, *Work and Play in Colonial Days*
Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*
Tappan, *Letters From Colonial Children*

2. For the 7-2 grade level.

This half-year of work deals primarily with further development and westward expansion territorially of the American people. The basic books, with approximate numbers, are:

Bolton and Adams, *California's Story* 20
Hunt, *California the Golden* 10
Rugg, *History of American Civilization* 40
Rugg, *History of American Government and Culture* .. 20
Vollintine, *The Making of America* 20
West and West, *Our Country* 20

Individual copies from the central library which are transferred to the classroom at appropriate times are of the type of the following representative titles:

Hebard, *Pathbreakers From Ocean to Ocean*
Holland, *Historic Adventures*
Hulbert, *The Paths of Inland Commerce*
Johnson, *Highways and Byways of California*
Meeker, *Ox-Team Days on the Oregon Trail*

3. For the 8-1 grade level.

This half-year of work begins a phase of study which is primarily concerned with the industrial development of the United States, and its effects on the lives and actions of the people, as the 7th year primarily was a study of the United States during its development as a fundamentally agricultural nation. The basic books used here, with approximate numbers of each copy, are:

Allen, *Cotton and Other Useful Fibers* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 35
Allen, *Our Cereal Grains* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 35
Allen, *The United States* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 40
Huntington and Cushing, *Modern Business Geography* 40
Packard and Sinnott, *Nations as Neighbors* 40
Rugg, *Introduction to American Civilization* 40

Individual copies representative of those transferred from the central library to the classroom shelves when desired are the following:

Bachman, *Great Inventors and Their Inventions*
Crissey, *The Story of Foods*
Earle, *Stagecoach and Tavern Days*
Holland, *Historic Railroads*
Rocheleau, *Great American Industries*

4. For the 8-2 grade level.

This semester of work develops the story of industrial United States largely since the Civil War, the growth and effects of Big Business on domestic and foreign affairs, and our growing interdependence with other nations. Basic books, with approximate numbers of each copy, are:

Huntington and Cushing, *Modern Business Geography* 40
Packard and Sinnott, *Nations as Neighbors* 40
Rugg, *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World* 40
Rugg, *History of American Civilization* 40
West and West, *Our Country* 20

Individual copies representative of those transferred from the central library to the classroom are:

Bowman, *The New World*
Franck, Harry, *Vagabonding Down the Andes*
Marshall, *Readings in the Story of Human Progress*
Morgan, *Our Presidents*
Redfield, *Dependent America*

5. For the 9-1 grade level

In this year is begun the study of community life and institutions, with more reference to the responsibility of the good citizen in the community. Basic books used, with approximate numbers of each copy, are:

Arnold, *Problems in American Life* 40
Ashley, *Practice in Citizenship* (a carry over from another source) 40
Davis, *Guidance For Youth* 20
Gowin, Wheatley, and Brewer, *Occupations* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 40
Hill, *Community Life and Civic Problems* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 40
Hill, *Community and Vocational Civics* 25
King and Barnard, *Our Community Life* 10
Lyon, *Making a Living* 35
Phillips-Newlon, *The New Social Civics* 10
Proctor, *Vocations* 20

Individual copies representative of those transferred from the central library to the classroom on occasion are:

Lyman and Hill, *Literature and Life*
Reports of City Departments
Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*
Rugg, *Town and City Life*
Towne, *Social Problems*

6. For the 9-2 grade level.

This semester of work deals more directly with the economic and vocational life of the nation, and the study of the relation of the individual to a vocational choice. The basic books, with approximate numbers of each copy, are:

Arnold, *Problems in American Life* 40
Carver and Adams, *Our Economic Life* 20
Davis, *Guidance For Youth* 20
Giles, *Vocational Civics* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 40
Gowin, Wheatley and Brewer, *Occupations* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 40
Hill, *Community Life and Civic Problems* (a carry over from a previous adoption) 40
Hill, *Community and Vocational Civics* 25
Hughes, *Textbook in Citizenship* 30
Lyon, *Making a Living* 35
Lyon and Butler, *Vocational Readings* 30
Marshall, *Readings in the Story of Human Progress*... 36
Proctor, *Vocations* 20

Individual copies representative of those books transferred from the central library to the classroom on need are:

Beard and Smith, *The Future Comes*
 Chase and Schlink, *Your Money's Worth*
 Flynn, *Graft in Business*
 Lynd, *Middletown*
 Wiese and Reticker, *The Modern Worker*

7. For the 10th Year.

This year at present constitutes two elective semesters of World History. Although not at present in process of be-

ing worked out, this year of work will probably be greatly revised in the future. The present basic books, with approximate numbers of each copy, are:

Ashley, <i>European Civilization</i> (a carry over)	40
Ashley, <i>Modern European Civilization</i> (a carry over) ..	40
Elson, <i>Modern Times and The Living Past</i> (a carry over)	40
Pasadena, <i>City Schools, World History Syllabus</i>	30
Webster, <i>History of Mankind</i>	20

Slang, Slogan and Song in American Politics

CARL SCHERF

Flathead County High School, Kalispell, Montana

While a word or a phrase, a "wise crack," a cartoon, a slip of the tongue, an unwise "break," a flip-pant remark, may not make history in the sense that the course of the stars may be changed by it, and while no one would contend that all historical change has been thus effected, it is surprising how many times a "close shave" is either avoided or a step is taken as the result of such an incident.

The emotional is quite as important as the reasonable in history. While the average American would deny that we as a people are highly emotional in our political behavior, the fact remains that Theodore Roosevelt was right when he said, "We are a queer, emotional, hysterical people on occasion."

If man were a reasoning or even a reasonable animal, the effect of slang, catch phrases, slogans, "wise cracks," songs, and cartoons would not be so determining in making political, social or economic decisions. Almost any word or phrase may become the rallying cry or the battle cry. The word slogan comes from two Scotch words: Gaelic, *sluagh*, meaning army, and *gairn* meaning call or calling, i.e. an army cry.

During the past few years we have listed some twelve hundred cases of slang, slogans, songs, and cartoons used more or less effectively in our politics, foreign relations, wars, teaching, business relations, and social life. The list is by no means complete. Yet the further we go in the matter the more convinced we are that actions have been much affected by these emotional stirrers created by their use. We Americans like to "catch on," "to be wise to." We want ideas in a "nut shell." We want to take things in at a glance. Catch phrases, cartoons and songs are good vehicles for putting ideas "across," especially if their perusal creates an emotional stir.

"Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" probably elected Cleveland rather than Blaine. When the Rev.

Samuel D. Burchard used it he probably rolled it around on his tongue as a choice morsel to hand that audience of Teetotalers, Protestants, and Unionists. But when it became known, the effect was dynamite to Blaine's cause. The course of the stars or even the course of the United States was probably not altered very much by this matter; and yet who can say what would have happened if Blaine instead of Cleveland had been elected. Take the matter of "spoils" vs. Civil Service Reform, as an illustration: might the election of Blaine have enhanced the belated house-claiming in the Republican party?

WISE CRACKERS

In contrast to the "slip of the tongue" that puts friends "in a hole" is the "wise crack" that elates them. The wise cracker did not arrive in American politics with the advent of Jimmy Walker. He appeared much earlier. In fact he seems, like the poor, to have been with us always.

One would hardly think of Franklin as the Jimmy Walker of his day, but if the versatile Jimmy has anything an old Ben in the way of a witty answer turning away wrath, we have not found it. Read your copy of Poor Richard or the Autobiography and have a good laugh.

KITCHEN AND TENNIS CABINETS

The kitchen cabinet of Jackson, the tennis cabinet of Roosevelt, Hoover's "second men," powers behind the throne, are an old story. The men with whom executives drink and play cards, the women and mistresses with whom the bosses play, do not often hold political office; but they frequently have tremendous political power. Spoils, legislation, executive favoritism, immunity from prosecution grow out of these activities. The "Little Green House on K Street" is not a modern innovation. History is full of little green houses from A to Z street.

THE BOSS

The meaning of the term "boss" in politics is quite literal. Thurlow Weed of New York invented the modern system before the Civil War, but the system is really older than the United States. It is as old as history and government. But in its modern aspects it applies particularly to relations between corporations and government. The corporation makes contributions to one or both political parties; and, in the words of Vare, expects to get returns for its "investment."

To keep themselves in office, many public servants sell their services in advance. The procedure is much more effective if there is a boss in control for he eliminates competition among the bidders for favor. We have here at least the quality of coherence. Hence the bitter feeling toward "Independents," "Mugwumps," "Insurgents," and "Sons of the Wild Jackass from the West."

The voters follow the "boss" hoping to be rewarded both before and after elections. The city boss pays the coal bills of the poor, gets his constituents out of jail, invites thousands to picnics, gets playgrounds for the children of the poor, shows favoritism to shop-keepers, bootleggers and gamblers; the state boss pays the debts of his followers, throws business their way, sees that they get the kind of legislation they want, and do not get the kind they do not want, even sends them to the legislature and has them appointed as judges of the courts. Like the baron of the Middle Ages his influence reaches from the top to the bottom. In a sense he is the state.

It is not entirely an unmixed evil, however. Tweed was personally abstemious. Croker had a bulldog force of character. Quay liked books. Tom Platt was an "easy boss." They all got things done, some of them good things. When governor and legislature are at loggerheads, the boss steps in and establishes harmony. He is likely to "own" one and control the other, hence his power to accomplish results, good as well as bad. Individual bribery is not tolerated and the "racket" is so well organized that the political band wagon at least has a road map for its guidance.

THE SLOGANS OF THE JINGO

That we are not a nation of chauvinists is not the fault of the American history textbooks used in our schools. We filled them with: "Don't give up the ship," "Don't give up the fort," "We have met the enemy and they are ours," "Fifty-four forty or fight," "Remember the Alamo, Goliad and Tampico" and "Remember the Maine." I remember how as school boys during the Spanish-American War we used to add a line and shout, "Remember the Maine, To Hell with Spain!" The list of such slo-

gans is as long as your arm. More recently we have added "America first" which has many emotional implications.

Perry's dispatch to General Harrison, "Dear General: We have met the enemy, and they are ours. Two ships, two briggs, one schooner and one sloop" in its terseness reminds one of "Off again, on again, Finnegan."

"Pike's Peak or bust" is one of many slogans that portray the American spirit of "Excelsior." We are a nation of "Go-getters." Roosevelt's "Stick-to-it-iveness" expresses one of our national ambitions. Franklin's philosophy is full of slogans conveying the same idea. Perseverance in spite of adversity is taught to us from the cradle to the grave, and largely through slang and slogans, even songs. The dogged determination to sail on *Pinta*, *Nina* and *Santa Maria* or prairie schooner probably marks American enterprise, picturesque and practical too. The gold seekers of the east slopes of the Rockies were but the forerunners of the Americans who have ever been anxious to "try their darndest" to get there and to get theirs. Even the modern youth who deals in terms like, "I am going to get mine while the getting is good" and "I don't care how I get it, I am going to get it," is but a type common to all stages of American history.

HIGH MORALITY

The American belief in the perfectibility of mankind, has found many expressions that stir his righteousness. Wilson once said "The tendency to be 'practical' will not conquer the tendency to be moral." The phrase is too long to become popular but it is often used nevertheless.

"I had rather be right than be president," uttered by Clay, who, like Bryan, tried three times unsuccessfully, makes us all feel virtuous. Except possibly the wit who said, "Well we let him be right." "The higher law"—to some who might connect this phrase with domestic relations and the right of a jealous husband to take the law into his own hands and go out and shoot wife or rival, it may appear strange that the phrase has often been used in political discussion. Seward used it in 1850 when he stingingly repudiated all "comprises." He referred to the Constitution and said he respected it, but that there was a "higher law" than the Constitution. Here again a wit has disturbed the seriousness of the occasion by remarking "What is the Constitution among friends?"

THE FULL DINNER PAIL

Appealing to men's stomachs is as old as political history, or older. Wives use it as well as statesmen. For some reason many people attribute the expression "The full dinner pail" to Theodore

Roosevelt. As a matter of fact the greatest use of the phrase occurred in the two McKinley campaigns in connection with the tariff arguments. Its variants have been common in every campaign, including those from Henry Clay to Herbert Hoover. The Hoover variants were "A chicken in the pot" and "A garage in every back yard," the assumption being that there would be a car in the garage.

The full dinner pail was much in evidence in the Polk-Clay political fight. Here is a toast from the friends of Henry Clay:

"Here's health to the workingman's friends!
Here's good luck to the plow and the loom!
Him who will not join in support of our cause
May light dinners and ill-luck illumine!"

That was a little more subtle than the notice posted on the doors of certain factories during the Harrison-Cleveland campaign—"If Grover Cleveland is elected on Tuesday this factory will close on Wednesday."

THE TARIFF

The term "protective tariff" has a nice consoling sound and has an especial appeal if coupled with reference to the "pauper labor of Europe." The Democrats are unfortunate in their use of the term "competitive tariff" which suggests to many competition with this dreadful pauper labor of Europe, but actually means a tariff that "considers the difference in cost of production here and abroad," a phrase that the elder La Follette liked to use. A "monopolistic tariff" nobody wants and even if the tariff wall reaches to heaven its friends would not admit any such definition. They and everyone else hate it quite as much as an "embargo." "Free trade" to most means that "The foreigner gets our markets" which of course no "true American" wants, only the English could wish for such an outcome. "Retaliation" is bandied about by friends and foes of the tariff and to hear some of the friends of high tariffs talk about it one would assume that it is a crime for any other nation to put a tariff upon American goods. A "tariff for revenue" seems to be unpopular to the masses, may be the very word revenue has a sound distasteful because of its association with taxation, a term not popular with any people, especially Americans. They fought a war once over the proposition that those who were taxed should have representation. Today they might be willing to forego representation if they could but escape taxation.

MONEY AND FINANCE

Our banks and our currency have been the subject of almost continuous political struggle from the days of Hamilton, Andrew Mellon, and Mills, to the present time—and always accompanied by

emotionalism and hysteria. We say "there is no sentiment in business," but there certainly is plenty of emotion. Since only a handful of people in the world know anything about this subject, it is not surprising that most of us take it out in feeling rather than thinking. "Good money," "sound money," "hard money," "an honest dollar," "fiat money," "Free Silver," "16 to 1," "the gold standard," "Gold Democrats," "Silver Democrats," "Greenbacks," and even the "golden calf" and the "Cross of Gold" are hurled about with little sense, but much fire. An "honest dollar" is defined by its friends as one that is always "standard," always worth the same; and these same friends are all "gold standard men." Yet when wheat fluctuates from thirty cents to three dollars and back again to thirty cents, these friends of "honest dollars" do not seem to see that after all the "worth of a dollar" does not remain constant even with a gold standard. The deification of gold by those who think they understand the gold standard is almost pathetic. We wonder, too, whether the fact that silver is the standard of Mexicans and Chinese does not cause an emotional reaction unfavorable to it.

WEASEL WORDS

This term, coined by Theodore Roosevelt, explains much of our politics. Our "leaders" give us half truths and slippery explanations and we "swallow" them. A list of the weasel words of the politicians of America from John Adams and Alexander Hamilton to Pat Hurley and Secretary Simpson would furnish us with an outline of American history.

WILSON'S SLOGANS

Second only to Roosevelt was Wilson as a coiner of catch phrases. The whole history of his administration could be written around half a dozen of them: "The New Freedom," "Pitiless Publicity," "Too Proud to Fight," "He kept us out of war," "Make the world safe for democracy," "Open covenants openly arrived at" and his "Fourteen points."

BLOODY SHIRT

The waving of the "bloody shirt" could keep in line millions of Republicans in the North as well as millions of Democratic votes in the South, without reference to any other political issue. Hate as an emotional effector in this matter was worth more to the politician than all the logic of a Plato.

TRUSTS AND TRUST BUSTERS

These terms carried with them tons of dynamite, especially for the period of thirty years beginning about 1885. Sherman, McKinley, Mark Hanna, Rockefeller, Morgan, Kellogg, Taft, Wilson as

busters, makers and fathers of trusts, pick them out! How many people know that there were more huge "trusts" formed in Roosevelt's administration than in McKinley's and Taft's combined?

MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

"Middle of the road" is a term often used in politics. Naturally, everyone would rather travel in the middle of the road than in the gutter. The term has a feeling of security about it. In extremes there is danger. It reminds one of the 1932 Republican platform declaration that "This is no time to experiment." When the patient is mortally sick and the doctor has tried all the old and known remedies he frequently experiments. The fact is that our crises experiments are often born. Nevertheless, a people almost hysterical with fear welcome the leader who says "We will take no chances."

He who would travel in the middle of the road may find obstacles. It is the part of wisdom to turn aside and pass them sometimes rather than to meet them "head on." Of course the middle of the roader expects to pass over obstacles with his "steam roller."

ENTANGLING ALLIANCES

What Washington really said in his farewell address was, "It is our true policy to steer clear of *permanent* alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Who twisted the meaning by substituting entangling for permanent, and gave the phrase that antagonistic sound? How sweet is the sound of "international coöperation," and how often is it used by those who favor the League of Nations! The very term League of Nations is so well hated by many Americans that Harding, when showing a disposition to lean toward it, called it "an association of nations." Even Wilson used to refer to "the nations associated with us in the Great War" rather than speak of them as "allies."

Before Washington made his farewell address he had just signed a treaty very favorable to England. It "gave great privileges" as the Republicans said. They accused Washington of fearing such "privileges" would also be granted to France. They called attention to the fact that France was our friend and England our enemy.

How many people, who today us the farewell address to support a policy opposed to the League of Nations and European coöperation, have ever read the farewell address? Do they know the mind of Washington, and furthermore what Washington would think today? Is what Washington said 140 years ago applicable to the present situation? Of course they need not read the farewell address. They have a catch phrase that satisfies their emotions. For political purposes that is usually all that is necessary.

"Imperialism!" The very word has a sound about it that antagonizes the democrat. It smacks of monarchy and ermine robes and all that. Many of those who oppose it probably do not understand its true meaning or the modern significance of its policies. If a "Monroe Doctrine" can be used to accomplish some of the worst features of imperialism, it is "swallowed" by the average American because it is sailing under another name, a name that has a heart appeal in it instead of a bitter taste.

CALLING NAMES

"Sticks and stones may broke my bones, but names will never hurt me!" We are not so sure, if you are in politics. Then again they may do you a world of good.

"Yankee" and "Uncle Sam" are two names we like to call ourselves. The origin of the word Yankee is problematical. It may be an Indian pronunciation of English—Anglais, Yenghies, Yanghies, Yankees; or maybe the Dutch gave it to the New Englanders—Jan (John) and Kees, (familiar diminutive of Cornelius) hence John Cornelius.

No doubt the term was used (in derision) by the English to designate New Englanders, and later all Americans. It was also used by the South for all Northerners. The North in turn referred to Southerners as "Johnny Rebs."

The term was used by both Irish and Germans in the United States to denote native Americans. When used in derision by them it was probably to cover up an inferiority complex growing out of the "Know Nothing" movement. The native whites called these newcomers of the middle of the nineteenth century "greenhorns." The Irish they also called "Micks" and the Germans, "Dutchmen," even "dirty Dutch." These terms were forerunners of "Wops," "Dagoes," "Pollocks," and "Squareheads," applied to Italians, Poles, and Scandinavians.

The Scotch have a word "yankie," meaning shrewd, sharp or clever. Shades of the "Connecticut Yankee" who sold wooden nutmegs! Always has this term been used in derision when applied to a group; but always has it been accepted by the "Yankee" with pride.

The term Uncle Sam became popular about 1812. Its origin is not clear. In 1808 a regiment of Light Dragoons had on their caps U.S.L.D. A wag is supposed to have remarked "There go Uncle Sam's Lazy Dogs." The contact of the militia with the "regulars" in 1812 gave the phrase greater currency. It rapidly grew in popularity.

The *American Daily Advertiser* for August 15, 1817 carried this item: "The Indians of the West, from hearing it often used, have imbibed the idea that it is actually the name of the President, and

while at Sackett's Harbor a considerable number of Indians and squaws crowded around the President, wishing as they expressed it, to shake hands with Uncle Sam."

"Hunkers" and "Barnburners" appear in the election of 1848. The Barnburners were humorously characterized by their opponents as being willing to burn down the political barn in order to get rid of the rats. Hunkers constituted the conservative wing of the Democratic party. A Hunker is one opposed to progress, an old fogey; literally one who squats on his haunches or crouches. It is probably equivalent to "standing pat," being satisfied with one's present position. On one's hunkers used to mean to squat, hunkers probably referring to a particular part of the anatomy.

Politics and politicians have never been over-polite in the use of terms applied to opponents. Those who squabbled over the Missouri Compromise of 1820, Northerners who voted with the South, were called "Doughfaces." "Straddlers" is another not too polite term frequently applied to those who want to be all things to all men. The latest use of the term was its application to Hoover's attitude toward the Eighteenth Amendment. Both "wets" and "drys" accused him of straddling, being "on the fence," having one foot in each pasture.

"Mollycoddle" is a sample of the Rooseveltian political vocabulary. He applied it to those weak of body and possibly weak in the head; those afraid of work; "Sissy boys" and "Mama boys," tied to Mother's apron strings.

"Malactors of great wealth" was another Roosevelt expression; and in wrath he referred to those who were destroying the reputations of the great and the near great as "muckrakers," showing that he had read *Pilgrim's Progress*. "Grafters," "fixer," "shyster" have been flung in the faces of the enemies of the Republic time and again. "Demagogue," our most common epithet for those with whom we disagree, originally meant a leader of the people, one popular with the masses. Now it means a "poser" in politics who hopes to gain votes by his pose; one who panders to popular prejudice or seeks to inflame reasonless passions in the advancement of his personal interests. Franklin Roosevelt's reference to "the forgotten man" called forth a whole chorus of "Demagogue!"

"Stuffed shirt" expresses very well, though very unkindly, the notion that there is nothing behind it. "Blue noses" applied to those who foist "Blue laws" upon us, is often used by those who themselves are inclined to have red noses.

"Turncoats" are never very popular in any society, and in politics they are classed with "mugwumps" and "insurgents." "Red coats" is a term that early enters the psychological complexes of

American youth, and makes "twisting the lion's tail" a popular national sport. "Know nothings" have been with us for a long time. The term grew out of the affected innocence of members of the organization who professed ignorance of the name, officers and purposes of their party. The American Party is reflected in such movements as the "A.P.A." and the recent outburst of a new "K.K.K."

"Tammany" in the minds of many stands for all that is bad in politics. But Tammany has always been a benevolent as well as a political society, even some of its political acts have been decidedly benevolent to its supporters. As one of the poets of the order sang:

Let the full horn of Tammany go round,
His fame let every honest tongue resound!
With him let every gen'rous patriot vie,
To live in freedom, or with honor die.

Tammany was named after a Delaware chief, Tamanend, Tammenund or Tammany. He was traditionally famous for his wisdom. Like his followers of today he was probably a "wise guy." He was facetiously canonized as the patron saint of the Columbian Society formed as a rival of the Society of Cincinnati.

"From another of its poets we cull these choice bits:

"To public views he added private ends. . . .

And loved his country most, and next his friends"
and again: "Caught the swift boar, the swifter deer,
with ease. . . ."

Not only have we called people names and given to groups terms that "stick"; we have a habit of selecting catchy words or phrases to describe things or ideas. "Bonus," "Gerrymander," "Filibuster," "Big Stick," "Pork barrel," "Land grabs," "Shell game," "Wall Street," "Bulls and bears," are only a few out of thousands. Some such as "Home rule" and "Rotten boroughs" we have borrowed from England and appropriated to our own uses.

BIG STICK

In his Minneapolis speech on September 2, 1901, Roosevelt quoted the old proverb: "Speak softly and carry a big stick—you will go far." Applied to foreign relations it reminds us of: "Trust in God but keep your powder dry." There is nothing in it of the Wilson phrase, "Too proud to fight," which proved to be a boomerang. Roosevelt did not limit the big stick idea to foreign affairs; he applied it to domestic politics as well. Friends and enemies constantly referred to the tendency on his part to wield the big stick in putting across "My policies." The cartoons of the day often pictured him with his "Rough Rider" hat and his big stick.

ANIMAL CRACKERS

American politics has a menagerie too. The eagle, the elephant, the donkey, the bull moose and the camel. One wonders why the "wets" have not adopted the fish or a whale, but maybe that would be too obvious. Yet elephants, moose, camels, and donkeys furnish splendid vehicles for poking fun by the opposition. Though the ostrich, because of its supposed habit of burying its head in the sand, might be a fitting emblem for all or any of our parties, it has never been used even by the enemy as a party symbol.

SONGS

Governor Haskell, of Oklahoma, was reported in August, 1908, to have said, "I care not who writes the platforms, if I am permitted to write the songs." Senator "Bob" Taylor is commonly credited with "fiddling and singing and story telling" his way into the Governorship of Tennessee and the Senate of the United States.

As early as 1800 we find the Jeffersonians singing:

The Federalists are down at last,
The Monarchists completely cast!

Lord! how the Federalists will stare
At Jefferson in Adams' chair!

One must always remember that the quality of verse has little effect upon the emotional outcomes it produces. The worst doggerel may have a moving force greater than the finest writing. Passions may often be aroused by the very crudity of the song or poem.

The expression "Up Salt River," often used to describe political defeat, owes its origin to a river of that name. It is a branch of the Ohio running through Kentucky. Clay was opposing Jackson in 1832. He employed a boatman to row him up the Ohio toward Louisville where he was to make an important speech. The boatman was a Jackson man. He played a dirty trick. "Accidently or on purpose," he missed his way and rowed Clay up Salt River. Clay did not reach Louisville in time to make a speech. Clay was defeated. In the campaign of 1840 this phrase was used in a song:

Our vessel is ready, we cannot delay,
For Harrison's coming and we must away—
Up Salt River! Up Salt River!
Up Salt River: Oh, high-oh!

The discomfiture of others always has an appeal for a certain type of mind. The derisive is effective in politics. In the Harrison-Cleveland campaign a part of a song ran:

The train is coming around the bend
It's filled with Harrison men
Goodbye old Grover, Goodbye.

Here is one that sounds like the work of an eight-year-old in a fit of enthusiasm; but it made a great appeal to adult (?) minds in the election of 1848. The partisans of "Old Rough and Ready" Zachary Taylor sounded this slogan:

Clear the track if your toes are tender,
For honest Zach can never surrender!

We hear these days of whispering campaigns that touch upon things decent men dare not say in the open; but in former times such things were shouted or sung from the house-tops. Here is a sample taken from the election when Millard Fillmore, a president by accident, wanted to become president in his own right:

There lives a man in Buffalo,
His name is Millard Fillmore,
Who thinks the Union's sunk so low
It ought to take one pill more
To purge away the "Prejudice"
Which true men have for freedom.
A canting, pompous wretch he is,
Who'll cheat you if you heed him.

Here is another unkind thrust sung to the tune of "Just Before the Battle, Mother":

Just before the battle, Andy,
We are thinking most of you,
While we get our ballots ready—
But, be sure, they're not for you!

You have swung around the circle:
That you ought to swing is true:
Oh, you tried to veto Congress,
But I Guess we'll veto you!

The Democrats had a clever one about Benjamin Harrison that ran: "His grandfather's hat is too large for his head." This was pat for the Republicans, for that year they were wearing grey beavers such as William Henry Harrison wore. The idea did not go over very big. Its fate was similar to that of the "Brown Derby" of 1928.

In 1908 the Prohibition party had a song to the tune of "Wait for the Wagon." The refrain ran:

Wait for the wagon,
The good old water wagon,
The Prohibition wagon,
And we'll all take a ride.

Here is what they handed to Buchanan:

The dough! the dough! the facial dough!
The nose that yields when you tweak it so!
It sighs for the spoils—it sells its soul
For a spoonful of pap from the Treasury bowl.

All the songs of our history do not appeal to base emotions by any means. To balance the bid for low

passions we have many songs that appeal to our highest idealism. What could be more stirring than: "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord." James Russell Lowell gave this poem its title, "Battle Hymn of the Republic." It was written by Julia Ward Howe for the *Atlantic* in 1861. In 1912 the Progressive party used this song. Roosevelt had said: "We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord."

A whole book could be written about "Yankee Doodle," its descendents and its ancestors. Yankee Doodle seems to be "a child of thirty-six fathers." The origin of this popular air is wrapped in obscurity. The tune is much older than the United States government. It probably dates to the tenth century. It was a vineyard song in Italy and the Latin countries. Did it come from Central Asia with the great migrations? A Spanish professor of music says Yankee Doodle resembles the ancient sword-dance of St. Sebastian. Did the Moors bring it into Spain many centuries ago? It was a nursery song in Holland (Yenkee dudel doodle down) (meaningless words). In Shakespeare's time a nursery rhyme ran:

Lucky Locket lost her pocket,
Kitty Fisher found it;
Nothing in it, nothing in it
Save the binding round it.

When Cromwell rode from Canterbury to take charge of the Puritan army the Cavaliers composed this song to the old tune:

Yankee Doodle came to town
Upon a Kentish pony,
He stuck a feather in his cap
And called him Macaroni.

Macaroni may have referred to a knot in which the feather was fastened, or to the London duds who aped the manners of Italian gentry.

Doodle is defined in the old English dictionaries as a "sorry, trifling fellow." It was in this sense that the term was applied to Cromwell.

Through many languages, many climes, many times the thing has flourished and grown. Maybe Yankee Doodle "composed itself." Maybe like Top-sy it just grew. But in a sense it is our national air, quite in contrast to the stately measures of "God Save the King." Sung first in derision it is now the symbol of American valor and patriotism. It inspired a love of country in our hearts. The verses

composed by a British poet-soldier in 1775 to poke fun at our army run on for fifteen stanzas beginning,

Father and I went down to camp,
Along with Captain Goodwin,
Where we saw the men and boys
As thick as hasty puddin'.

There was Captain Washington
Upon a slapping Stallion,
A giving orders to his men:
I guess there was a million.

But even if we acknowledge Yankee Doodle as a national patriotic air, can it ever stir the blood as does "Dixie"? There are many songs by this name but the one written by Pike and popularized during the Civil War by McCarthy, the light comedian, set off the greatest amount of fire-crackers:

Southrons, hear your country call you!
Up! lest worse than death befall you!
To arms! To arms! To arms! in Dixie!
Lo! all the beacon fires are lighted,
Let all hearts be now united!
To Arms! To arms! To arms! in Dixie!
Advance the flag of Dixie!
Hurrah! Harrah!
For Dixie's land we take our stand,
And live and die for Dixie!

Hear the Northern thunders mutter!
Northern flags in South wind flutter

Send them back your fierce defiance!
Stamp upon the accursed alliance!

And so on for eight stanzas.

To one interested in psychology as well as history and politics, a study of the effects of emotion in determining trends is a fascinating occupation. The few scraps referred to here are but an infinitesimal portion of the whole. We have many books on American history written in terms of national idealism. Some one should write our history in terms of her slang and slogans, her songs and cartoons, even her wise cracks. If pulse and heart beat and flow of glands affect human action as much as thoughtful and mindful ponderings, then certainly the student of history should be familiar with that which stirs men's emotions as well as that which stimulates their intellects.

"Adequate taxes and sound credit policies will depend upon the progress of economic recovery and at the same time they will condition that recovery. In this stage of current economic emergency, wise and careful steering is necessary to avoid the shoals of de-

flationary taxes on the one hand and of inadequate (potentially inflationary) taxes that might impair public credit on the other hand." Roy G. and Gladys C. Blakey, "The Revenue Act of 1934" in *The American Economic Review* for September 1934.

Training for Citizenship in the Secondary Schools of New York City II

MADGE M. MCKINNEY
Hunter College

(Continued from the November issue)

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND CIVIC ATTITUDES IN THE SCHOOLS

Participation in school activities, particularly those which will be duplicated in the political experiences of an active citizen, certainly should be considered a part of the training for citizenship. This survey, covering nine of New York City's largest high schools, directed four types of inquiry toward these activities.¹⁰ These inquiries were:

(1) How much opportunity did the student have to obtain such experience?

(2) Did he take advantage of the opportunities offered?

(3) Was the relation between these activities and similar ones in civic life pointed out to him?

(4) What attitudes did he develop through these experiences which might carry over into political life?

The opportunity to obtain this experience was somewhat varied. Partial self-government had been granted to the students in all the schools, but the powers given to them differed greatly. In one school, they had control over the student's conduct wherever he was subject to school authority, on the school grounds, in the classroom, and during tests. They made rules, fixed penalties, and punished offenders. In another school, they were given large enforcement powers but no legislative power. Student courts were established in both these schools. In one other school, the students were given authority to regulate conduct only in the halls. Here they made "traffic laws" and established "traffic courts" to enforce them. Certainly these students were gaining experience in law enforcement. In some schools, however, the student organization was given almost no power except to arrange assembly programs, and even this was carefully controlled by the staff.

One of the fundamental duties of citizenship is the selection of officers. The students were given a number of opportunities to gain experience in the exercise of this function. Both school and class officers were selected by them in all the schools. Any student with a passing grade was qualified to vote for class officers, and this qualification plus the payment of school dues entitled him to vote for

officers of the general student organization. All but three of the students questioned said they were eligible to vote in all elections. Probably a larger percentage of the entire student body was disfranchised by the regulations, but certainly a large majority were qualified to participate in these events, wherein an organized society chose its leaders. Only two of the 309 students questioned indicated that they had failed to vote for any officer for whom they were qualified to vote; one said that he was not qualified but he voted anyway. Whether such illegal voting was common could not be determined, but the evidence did seem to indicate that non-voting was not a problem in these schools.

Experience was offered in various types of nomination and election procedure. Nominations were made by three methods: by petition, by convention of class representatives, and by caucus, or selection in the open meeting. The secret ballot was commonly used in the elections of school officers, but class officers more often were selected openly. Each class decided for itself how its elections should be conducted.

A few questions were asked of the students, which aimed to discover whether the relation between these activities and similar ones in civic life was made clear to them. One of these questions was:

Was it ever pointed out to you that voting for these officers was similar to voting for public officials? If so, by whom?

One hundred and sixty-five students replied to the first part of the question in the affirmative and 125 in the negative; the others did not respond. Most of the students who answered the second part of the question said that the teachers had pointed out the similarity. Another question of this type was:

Was the payment of school dues compared to taxes as a qualification for voting?

To this question 44 students answered *Yes* and 246 answered *No*.

To the question:

Was it impressed upon you that voting for these officers was a duty? If so by whom?

One hundred and fifty-seven students answered that it had been impressed upon them, and of this number 109 said that it was done by staff members.

These answers seem to indicate that some high-school teachers were trying to correlate the political activities in the school with similar ones in later life, but such efforts were either scattered or often ineffective.

Another series of questions were directed to the subject of political parties.

These questions were:

- (a) Were there organized groups which opposed each other at student elections?
- (b) Did these groups adopt any of the following: names, insignia, platforms, banners, slogans?
- (c) Did they resemble political parties in other respects?
- (d) If so, how?
- (e) Did they call themselves parties?

In three schools, there was almost complete unanimity in the answers to the first question—the answer was *Yes*. In six schools, the answers were contradictory. Subsequent investigation, which included further questioning of both teachers and students, showed that such organizations usually sprang into existence about the time of student elections in some of the schools and were in continuous operation in the others. The majority of the answers to the second question indicated that names, slogans, and platforms were generally adopted by these organizations. In three of the schools, insignia were also adopted, and in six banners were used.

Though relatively few students named other similarities between the organizations and parties, their comparisons are interesting and they throw some light upon the students' conception of political parties. The similarities they mentioned are as follows:

TABLE VII
RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS AND
POLITICAL PARTIES

Similarity	Number of Mentions
Arranged for speakers	18
Conducted the campaign	17
Drew up the ticket	7
Had a manager or boss	4
Circulated literature	2
Rewarded their followers	2
Were selfish and greedy	1
Never fulfilled promises	1
Collected money for advertising	1
Were a necessary evil	1

Election campaigns were conducted in all the schools. There was considerable disagreement as to whether or not they were supervised by the teachers. It is probable, however, that they were supervised since some assembly periods were devoted to cam-

paign speeches in all the schools. The school paper was generally used as a medium of campaign literature; and soap-box speakers were reported to have been a common spectacle. Posters were used in all the schools, sometimes containing the candidates' pictures but more often containing slogans or merely the candidates' names. Blotters, pins or tags were frequently distributed. In general, the campaign methods were like those used by the major parties in the United States. Sometimes funds were quietly solicited to cover the expenditures. In one school, the campaign expenses had formerly run so high that the staff had put into effect a "Corrupt Practices Act" limiting the amount of money that could be spent for each candidate. Certainly the students in that school received experience in campaign technique as well as in government regulation.

Closely allied with civic life is membership in clubs which discuss or study civic questions. A large number of students belonged to such organizations. The following clubs showed the largest membership among the students questioned:

TABLE VIII
CLUBS INTERESTED IN CIVIC QUESTIONS

Club	Number belonging
Debating Society	234
Current Events Club	214
History Club	212
Civics Club	112

Membership in these organizations was not compulsory; apparently the students joined them because of an interest in national and governmental affairs. Local and national questions were studied; international affairs were seldom considered.

Another type of activity which should, perhaps, be mentioned in an investigation of this kind is that in which the students participate in a general movement stimulated by local officials. Clean-up Week and Safety Week are of this type. These and similar projects were generally encouraged by the schools. They gave the students an opportunity to cooperate with agents of the government and in some cases to serve in an organized group.

Still another phase of participation, and one generally stressed in the New York City high schools, is the organization of various enterprises which find their parallel in the future life of the student, but which are not fundamentally civic in character. Thus the students operate lunch counters, edit school papers, own and sometimes lease athletic fields. Because these activities are fundamentally social rather than civic in nature, little space is given to them in this study. They may prepare the student for economic life in the United

States, but they prepare him for membership in the political life only in so far as they demonstrate the relationship between business practices and political institutions. Few data were secured upon this point. Apparently the enterprises were regulated, but the rules were made only as occasion required and by whoever was in authority at the time.

Our influence that is stimulating various types of school activities is the Coöperation-in-Government Committee. This committee is composed of well-known citizens. It includes the Governor, the Mayor, the President of the Board of Education, the Director of Civics, and others prominent in governmental affairs. Dr. Campbell, when he was Associate Superintendent in charge of the high schools, said that the aim of the committee was "to recognize, encourage, and foster such efforts and accomplishments in governmental affairs . . . as will form a basis of intelligent and active citizenship." The committee gives a medal and several diplomas to members of each graduating class who are considered superior citizens. The recommendations for the awards are made by the high-school principal, and the activities for which they are given are both social and civic in character. Some citations from the statements of principals in naming candidates for these awards are given in Dr. Campbell's pamphlet.¹¹ Participation in oratorical contests on the Constitution, membership in the student-governing body, managing a lunch room, contributing to a history magazine, and membership in the dramatic society are mentioned as activities worthy of recognition.

The "Superior Citizens" are required to take the ancient Athenian Oath of Allegiance to their city. The oath is usually administered to them in the Board of Education Building by the president of the board. Speeches are made to them commending them for their active participation in the school life and emphasizing the responsibilities of citizenship that they must now assume. Two subsequent awards are also given by this committee. One is the Five-Year Medallion issued annually to some alumnus who received a token five years before and who has rendered some unusual service to his community since that time. The other is the Gold Medallion presented each year to a sometime graduate from the city high schools who has made a conspicuous contribution to society in the field of civic affairs. Thus through awards of various types, the committee attempts to stimulate citizenship activities.

It is important to know not only what political experiences the high-school students enjoy but also what attitudes are developed through these experiences which may carry over into civic life. What motivates them to exercise the rights given them, and will these motives be useful to active citizens?

It has already been noted that there was no non-voting problem among the students questioned. Whether this was the result of a sense of responsibility or of a real interest in the elections was not determined; but whatever the urge, if this behavior trait can be carried over into active citizenship then one method of ridding the country of non-voters is to expand the field of secondary education.

Two questions included in the questionnaire were designed to find out what the high-school students considered important qualifications for school officers, and what influences, other than these qualifications, entered into their choice of candidates. These questions were:

1. Check once any of the following which were particularly emphasized in the pre-election meetings. Check twice any that were stressed in a whispering campaign.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (a) popularity | (g) membership in clubs |
| (b) athletic record | (h) sex |
| (c) scholastic standing | (i) nationality |
| (d) religion | (j) dress |
| (e) race | (k) voluntary services |
| (f) ability to make speeches | about school |

2. Check any of the following that influenced you in casting your vote for student officers.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| (a) good looks | (f) dramatic ability |
| (b) religion | (g) sex |
| (c) personal friendship | (h) race |
| (d) scholastic record | (i) nationality |
| (e) athletic ability | (j) dress |

Very few students indicated that a whispering campaign existed, and this phase of the investigation was eliminated. The majority of the students claimed that scholastic standing, voluntary services about school, general popularity, athletic record, and club membership were most emphasized in the campaign speeches. If this was true, these traits must have been considered important characteristics of office holders by the students who conducted the campaigns.

The second question was much more personal but perhaps no more subjective than the first. The answers disclosed that scholastic standing and personal friendship had great influence in determining how the student voted; 72 per cent of them checked scholastic standing and 66 per cent (85 per cent of the boys) checked personal friendship. None of the other traits listed seemed to have influenced many students. Eleven per cent admitted that they considered "good looks"; less than ten per cent said that they considered dramatic ability or dress; and only two per cent indicated that religion, race, nationality or sex influenced their vote. If these students were representative and if these attitudes car-

ry over into political life, then certain disgusting campaign tactics of today will be useless in appealing to the future voters who have attended high school. On the other hand, if the force of personal friendship carries over, American parties will continue to be built upon the dicta that personal appeal is better than real issues, and the spoils system will flourish. It is encouraging that scholastic record also influenced large numbers. Evidently the students considered something besides friendship when they were voting for their comrades. What will they consider in national and municipal elections? Will they find something that will correspond to ninety per cent in Latin? And will some type of spectacular attainment make heroes of men and attract nearly one-third of the voters as athletic ability did in the high schools? These are questions which could be answered now only by flights of the imagination, and such answers would be worthless.

One or two other attitudes were discovered, and although they have been mentioned before, they should be referred to here. The fact that large numbers joined clubs which discussed civic problems revealed an interest in civic affairs, and it may have indicated a budding responsibility for the solution of these problems. If this interest continues in mature life, certainly the schools are doing much in developing an attitude of inquiry and seriousness regarding these questions. The Coöperation-in-Government Committee attempts to stimulate an attitude of unselfish responsibility in governmental affairs. Whether its awards really develop such an

attitude or merely recognize it is a matter of conjecture, but certainly they indicate that such an attitude does exist in some students.

In conclusion, it can be said that the students questioned were generally interested in the governmental activities of both the school and the nation and that they obtained considerable experience in political practices. In the selection of their officers, they used the technique of political parties, conducting their own nominations, campaigns, and elections. Where they were permitted to do so, they made rules concerning school discipline and established their own courts to enforce them. They appeared to take such responsibilities seriously, and non-voting was a rare event. Their judgment in choosing their officers was influenced largely by the scholarship record of the candidate, by personal friendship, and to a lesser degree by his athletic ability. It appeared that little was done in the way of showing students the relation between these activities and similar ones in civic life. If these students were typical and if the attitudes expressed are extended into national affairs, the *politica* of the future will encounter less apathy on the part of the voter; and campaigns appealing to prejudices based upon religion, race, and the like will be useless, but the appeal of personal friendship will be strong.

¹⁰ The method employed in the survey has already been described. Most of the information was obtained from 309 recent graduates from the schools who filled in a questionnaire presented to them.

¹¹ Campbell, Harold G. *Beyond the Classroom*, p. 104. New York: Herald Nathan Press, 1930.

The Development of Imperial Federation

CONSTANCE FIELD STECHER

Braintree High School, Braintree, Massachusetts

STAGES IN IMPERIAL ORGANIZATION

The British Commonwealth of Nations is the outgrowth of an evolutionary process and therefore it is futile to attempt to divide British colonial history into other than arbitrary periods. Professor Zimmern has said recently that "the first empire was a colonial empire of the older type abruptly extinguished in 1776. The second British Empire reached the culmination of its power and development during the Great War. Now the third British Empire has evolved, new in form, conditions, and name. The British Empire of 1914 has now become the British Commonwealth of Nations."¹

It is the British Constitution which binds together the varied and extensive elements of the Empire and in its broadest aspect is both monarchical

and parliamentary. It includes both Monarchy and Parliament because royal authority applies throughout every one of the British possessions and all government acts made expressly and directly, or indirectly, under the authority of Parliament are subject to the supervision and ultimate control of Parliament. As for the constitutions of the self-governing Dominions, it is to be noted that in every case the right to representative government has been granted by an Act of Parliament or by an Order in Council. It is a well-known fact that responsible government is a recent institution in British history, an institution which did not come into existence in England itself until late in the seventeenth century and a principle which was made more effective in form as a result of the loss of the

American Colonies. The first such measure was adopted in regard to Canada in 1791 and formed the model for subsequent representative institutions in other colonies.²

The interval between 1847 and 1922 marks the period during which the Dominions were granted responsible government, and in many instances the allowance took place where the territory and population were at that time relatively small; but in most cases this growth of responsible government simply meant the attachment of a cabinet system to an already existing Parliamentary system.

The next stage in the growth of responsible government was the union of certain groups by the creation of one central government and legislature having power to deal with affairs of common interest, three of which groups—Canada, Australia, and South Africa—are most prominent by statutory authority.³ But the general body of constitutional law in the Dominions, as in Great Britain, is subject to a gradual change even if there is not as much scope and freedom for alteration as exists under the non-statutory British Constitution. Though the Dominions owe their constitutional and legislative grants to the British Parliament and are thus termed "subordinate," it seems doubtful whether this description still holds true owing to recent developments in regard to status.

Prior to the World War no part of the Empire outside of the British Isles could be considered as purely self-governing for the very reason that foreign policy was vested in a Cabinet member in London. But, owing to the need for greater coöperation, the Imperial Government attempted to secure Dominion assistance under the scheme of Imperial Federation.⁴ The first Colonial Conference assembled in 1887 to consider military and economic matters. Again in June 1891, Lord Salisbury was urged to call a conference to consider common privileges and responsibilities throughout the Empire. The conference failed to state any definite accomplishment and the Federation movement was formally dissolved in 1893.

Federation was superseded by a movement toward Imperial Preference in 1894 and again in 1897; but it was not until 1902 that the conference was placed on any definite basis. The representatives agreed that meetings should be periodic and that certain imperial privileges be allowed individual Dominions. The Conference of 1907 was renamed the "Imperial Conference." The climax of the series begun in 1887 came with the Conference held in 1911 and concludes the first stage in the growth of a system of consultation among the parts of the Empire.

Owing to the outbreak of the World War in 1914, no Imperial Conference assembled in 1915.

However, in 1917 and 1918 an Imperial War Conference convened, promising great changes in Imperial relations, especially in regard to Dominion status. The Dominions spontaneously accepted the war begun by Great Britain; but there was a feeling that inasmuch as they were members of the British group, they should share in the administration of the Empire.⁵ They attained this participation to some degree in the invitation issued by David Lloyd George in 1916 to the Dominion Prime Ministers to attend the meetings of the War Cabinet; and India was included in the invitation. In this way the Colonial Conference became an Imperial Cabinet meeting annually as "an accepted convention of the British Constitution." Meetings in 1917 and 1918 accomplished items of military and economic interest and in January 1919, proceeded to Paris, as the British Empire delegation, to enter upon peace negotiations.

The Imperial Conferences of 1921 and 1926 were chiefly concerned with possible schemes for the strengthening of inter-Imperial Relations. The Conference of 1930 was primarily a gathering of Dominion representatives for the discussion of economic considerations by which the British Commonwealth of Nations might attain a closer union.

GREATER AUTONOMY

No one can for a moment deny that the Imperial Conference, as an institution of Empire, has accomplished a very lasting and valuable work during the several meetings since 1917 in its endeavors to establish successfully a mutual understanding between Great Britain and her Dominions with regard to Imperial matters.

Imperial Federations was essentially an English view which enlisted little support in the colonies. On the other hand, the movement for autonomy is primarily a Dominion view which has received popular support of varying degrees in the Dominions. The fundamental difficulty underlying this movement for independence seems to be the sense of nationhood held by each of the Dominions resulting in the creation of a British League of Commonwealths, each Commonwealth independent, but concluding among themselves certain agreements subject to the League.

From 1887 on Canada had been asking for a greater degree of autonomy which has always been granted when the demand appeared serious. The war showed the willingness of the members of the British Empire to coöperate and, at the same time, tended toward the development of a stronger sense of nationality. This fact is best seen in the constitutional resolution of 1917⁶ which definitely stated the colonial stand on Dominion autonomy. This Resolution places on record the view that any

readjustment of relations must preserve all existing powers of self-government and must be based on a complete recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations within an Imperial Commonwealth with a right to a voice in foreign policy and foreign relations.

In 1918 the proposition of an Imperial Court of Appeal to hear cases for the entire Empire was rejected by Canada and South Africa on the ground that such a court was not deemed necessary on the basis of their own judicial systems which tended to restrict rather than to increase the number of appeals allowed.

The Peace Conference offered the Dominion Prime Minister an excellent opportunity to incorporate the idea of Dominion autonomy into the British Imperial scheme of government. Canada took the lead in asking for equal representation of the Dominions at the Peace Conference; the same stand was taken regarding equal membership in the League of Nations and in the Permanent Court. Mr. Borden also suggested that the Crown must act on the advice and responsibility of the Governments of the Dominions concerned in matters of appointment of Dominion plenipotentiaries and in the ratification of treaties on behalf of the Dominions.⁷ In spite of the fact that Dominion representatives were invited to sign the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, there was nothing in the shape of a formal declaration which said that they had assumed the position of independent international status. But after all, the fact remained that they had been permitted to sign the treaty.

However, the situation was very definitely interpreted by the Dominion Prime Ministers. "The British Dominions now have been accepted fully into the comity of nations by the whole world. . . . They have achieved full national status, and now stand beside the United Kingdom as equal partners in the dignities and responsibilities of the British Commonwealth."⁸ The conference resolution stated that no advantage was to be gained by holding a constitutional conference and continuous consultation could only be secured by improvement in Imperial Communication.⁹

In 1923 the Conference resolution on treaty-making rights declared it to be "the new and established practice" that on "any British Empire delegation for negotiation of international treaties, the Dominions and India be separately represented." By the same resolution each Dominion having "a full power" was to be accorded the right of concluding independent treaties on matters concerning itself only.¹⁰ From this declaration no Dominion was absolutely unrestricted in concluding a foreign treaty.

The Conference of 1926 was felt to be an excel-

lent opportunity for a full and extensive consideration of the position and the making of the necessary declarations of any future policy regarding "status." The question of "Dominion status" was referred to a special committee which issued a report on November 20, 1926.¹¹ This report was accepted and, as Manfred Nathan says, constitutes "the greatest landmark in the history of the subject."¹² The Balfour Report contains a formal declaration of relations between the self-governing members of the Empire. The statements therein contained define the mutual relations of Great Britain and the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."¹³ The resolution seems to be a declaration of coöperation as well as one of equality of status which covers the whole field of government. The Committee remarked, too, that geographical and other conditions rendered Federation impossible and regarded autonomy as the only alternative. Minor considerations on matters of Dominion legislation and status were discussed with especial reference to India at the Conference of 1930, but no decisions were rendered which in any way altered previous declarations.¹⁴

IMPERIAL COMMUNICATIONS

Owing to the vastness of the Empire, the problem of improved communication is a vital one which continues to require serious consideration to the end that the bonds of Empire may be strengthened. England has developed water routes around Africa to India, through the Suez Canal, and from England to Canada. Aeroplane lines from Cairo to Bombay, Cairo to Cape Town, and Cape Town to Lagos help to unite the Empire. A chain of high power wireless stations connects every point with Rugby, England, by the "beam" system. Reduced cable rates invite an exchange of news, and English money is invested in the Empire at a low rate of interest. And yet, in spite of all these projects, British statesmen today feel that greater improvement along these lines must be realized if the Empire is to remain united.

The War delayed consideration for the improvement of Imperial communications by the Conferences of 1917 and 1918, but the matters were laid before the meetings, and referred to a special committee which submitted a report in 1921. The Conference of 1921 failed to secure the willingness of Dominion representatives to pledge financial support at the time on projects pertaining to air, telephone, telegraph, and shipping. The British Gov-

ernment, however, was instructed to take steps for the erection of the remaining wireless stations for which they were responsible, and coöperation was urged among the Dominions. The Conference further approved the recommendations of the sub-committee concerning the limitation of shipowners' liability by definite clauses to be contained in Bills of Lading and urged uniform legislation on the matter. The Committee on Shipping was instituted as a permanent body to be known as the Imperial Shipping Committee.

The Conference of 1926 approved of the inquiries of the Imperial Shipping Committee and recommended that, as part of its work, the Committee should make special investigations as to Empire marketing and foodstuffs, raw materials, preference, and Empire trade and marketing.¹⁵ Matters were discussed regarding the management of the Pacific cable understanding between Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. A Pacific Cable Board was suggested.

While uniformity of legislation was very desirable, it proved difficult to reconcile the application of certain provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 with the constitutional status of the several members of the Commonwealth. It was concluded that such matters be referred to a sub-committee which should advise as to such principles as should apply to merchant shipping legislation within the Empire in view of recent constitutional developments. India was to be represented on this Committee owing to her vast economic and commercial interests. It was agreed that international uniformity would greatly facilitate overseas trade by removing doubt from the minds of shipowners and shippers concerning their liability under a contract of carriage. The matter of uniformity of limitation of shipowners' liability to maritime mortgages and liens was approved as suggested to the Brussels Convention of 1922 and 1923 to secure international understanding and coöperation and was commended to the consideration of the Empire Governments. The Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 was commended to the consideration of the Dominions.

The progress of civil aviation in the various parts of the Empire was noted with interest and the British Government suggested concentration on two main routes—England to Australia, thence to South Africa. The first links in these routes were forged in services established in 1927.¹⁶ It was realized that the best prospect for progress was for each of the Dominions of the Empire to undertake the responsibility for developing her own local sections and so gradually to build a complete system of Imperial air routes. The Conference expressed satisfaction at the decisions of the Imperial Gov-

ernment to carry out a series of experimental demonstration flights in South Africa and in the region of Singapore in 1928 and 1929. An Imperial Air Conference was suggested for 1928 and 1929.

The Conference of 1917 went on record as favoring the establishment of a 'Trade Commissioners' service to provide facilities to merchants and producers in order that Empire trade interests might be protected.¹⁷ The duties of such a Commission were vaguely outlined to include investigation into Imperial trade conditions and compilation of these survey trade statistics for the use of the various Governments. The next development is to be noted in the resolution adopted in 1926 which favored the standardization of industrial products in order to afford savings to manufacturers and consumers alike.¹⁸

In 1918 Canada suggested that an Imperial News Service be created to gather Empire news in London and make it available for the presses of the other portions of the Empire through the medium of the Ministry of Information and the British Press; then to distribute it to the various governments. Further action was taken in 1921 when it was suggested that news rates for Empire news be reduced by means of government subsidy. The same attitude was apparent toward the exchange of news in 1923, and provision was made for a weekly summary of Imperial and world affairs to be sent to the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions direct from the English Foreign Office. In 1926 it was advocated that, since news could be obtained and distributed cheaper through American sources, a reduction be made in press rates between England and Canada. It was also urged that a reduction be made in cable rates between England and India and a recommendation was considered to lower postal rates.

The Economic Conference of 1923 approved earlier recommendations for the setting up of an inter-Imperial Parcels Delivery in order to encourage Imperial trade. Postal rates were simplified in regard to the mailing of letters and packages as well, in order to secure coöperation. The matter of an Imperial Patent was laid aside for further consideration at a future date.

IMPERIAL DEFENSE

Imperial Defense proved somewhat of a stumbling block at each successive Conference meeting owing to the cost of maintenance. All agreed that defense was absolutely necessary, yet each time a constructive suggestion was made, the Dominions were not disposed toward contributing toward Empire defense. The disaster of 1914 afforded added impulse to Imperial unity and at the same time augmented the semi-dormant forces of Dominion nationalism.

Consequently, the close of the war witnessed the emergence of a number of complete nations, self-governing Dominions within a British Commonwealth, necessitating an understanding as to their individual status as members of the great organization. In 1921 a resolution showed the Conference to be of the opinion that nothing should be done until after the coming Disarmament Conference at Washington.¹⁹

At the Imperial Conference of 1923 it was stated by resolution that each represented portion of the Empire held the primary responsibility for local defense; that adequate protection was necessary for maritime routes; that the naval strength of the Empire should be equal to that of the greatest foreign power; and that coöperation was necessary in the matter of air-craft. Deep interest was voiced by Australia, New Zealand, and India with regard to the naval base at Singapore as a means of securing the necessary mobility to provide for the security of trade and territory in eastern waters.²⁰ But the Conference did nothing to lighten the burden of Imperial responsibility or to help keep open the sea routes; the Imperial Government was left in both cases to keep pace with the rapid strides of the United States.

The Conference of 1926 reviewed past achievements in the field of Imperial Defense and seemed to be in sympathy with a reduction and limitation of armaments, and added the vital qualification that any action taken must be compatible with the integrity and security of all parts of the Empire. The Dominions approved the policy of the Imperial Government in aviation and naval operations but were unwilling to commit themselves and reserved the right for consideration of issues.²¹

FOREIGN POLICY

Prior to 1914 matters of foreign policy were entirely in the hands of Great Britain. Military and post-war problems occupied the attention of Britain and her Dominions at the Conferences of 1917 and 1918; but at the Conference of 1921 the conception presented was that of a unitary foreign policy of the British Empire in which the Dominions were to have a voice, but one which was to be declared to the world through the British Foreign Office. The discussion revealed "a unanimous opinion as to the main lines to be followed by British policy and deep conviction that the whole weight of the Empire should be concentrated behind a united understanding and common action in foreign affairs."²²

The outcome of the Washington Conference was merely "to reconcile the principle of diplomatic unity in the international relations of the Empire with the principle of coördinate autonomy for each

self-governing nation," which remained without serious challenge until 1922.²³ The Empire acted as a unit for the purpose of determining the 5-5-3 ratio and where the assent of the Empire by means of vote was necessary, approval was indicated by the leader of the British representatives acting on behalf of his Dominion colleagues.

No doubt a lack of interest accounts for the failure of the Dominions to insist upon representation in the Lausanne Conference.²⁴ However, ratification was finally accomplished with the concurrence of all Empire Governments. Likewise, the failure of the Protocol for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes²⁵ was due to the complete refusal of the Dominions to accept it. The Dominions not only refused to be bound by treaties made by the Mother Country, but Canada ventured a step further, insisting upon the right to make treaties without any interference from Great Britain. The most outstanding fact as proof of this demand is the Halibut Treaty of 1923 which was concluded between United States and Canada to regulate halibut fisheries on the Pacific Coast. Canada demanded it should be signed by her representatives *alone*; and this privilege was yielded by the Foreign Office.²⁶ In consequence of this step a resolution was passed in 1923 assuming the right of each Dominion to make its own treaties, and provided for forms of signature and ratification where the treaty applies only to one part of the Empire.²⁷

The "security pact" is the culmination of the tendency toward the breakup of the original conception of an indivisible British Empire foreign policy because the treaty was negotiated and signed by Great Britain alone.²⁸ Thus the Locarno Treaty marks the recognition of the fact that, in certain respects, Great Britain must conduct her own foreign policy in relation to European matters just as Canada is conducting her relations with the United States.

At the Conference in 1926 the same general feeling seemed to prevail in the resolution which frankly recognized that in the sphere of foreign policy, as well as in that of defense, the major share of responsibility should rest with Great Britain. The governing consideration was that neither Great Britain nor the Dominions could be committed to the acceptance of active obligations except with the definite assent of their own governments.²⁹

ECONOMIC POLICIES

At the close of the World War the British Empire found itself confronted with serious economic problems which called for consideration in any economic program of reconstruction which might be definitely outlined for the Empire as a whole. The Imperial Government took steps toward the estab-

lishment of a Central Emigration Authority to provide for overseas settlement and the relief of unemployment in the British Isles. Laws regarding naturalization of enemy subjects were considered and the issue of the double income tax was reviewed. The Empire realized the necessity of Empire control of Empire resources in order to effect an economic reconstruction.³⁰

One can readily see that Imperial economic policy has been most thoroughly investigated by the very material results of the successive conferences. A Board of Imperial Resources has been created to develop the resources of the Empire.³¹ A plan was enacted to place an embargo on all German dyes into Great Britain for a period of ten years after the war.³² The passage of the Non-Ferrous Metals Industry Act made it necessary for everyone desiring to deal or trade in any way in non-ferrous metals to first secure a license from the Board of Trade.³³ A Bureau of Imperial Minerals Research was set up in 1918 by Dr. Addison for the purpose of collecting information regarding mineral resources and metal requirements of the Empire.³⁴ The Bureau of Entomology and Mycology was created to aid in scientific experiment and research.³⁵ The Empire Marketing Board and Empire Forestry Bureau were considered necessary for the distribution and preservation of Empire resources.³⁶

The guiding principle throughout the successive discussions of economic policies seemed to be that of Imperial preference. The essence of Imperial preference, as practiced in the Dominions, is the maintenance of an absolute control over the tariff in the hands of the Government with power to manipulate freely in order to secure the protection of industry against foreign and domestic competition, differentiating in favor of foreign countries, though no foreign country was to enjoy the same terms as the United Kingdom. But, owing to the fact that complete tariff control is incompatible with any type of federal relation as a matter of actual practice, there appeared little tendency prior to 1923 to adduce preferential trade as an aid toward political and economic consolidation. However, by far the chief decision recorded by the Conference of 1923 was that in favor of Imperial preference. The Economic Conference sat simultaneously with the Imperial Conference and the general argument advanced by both conferences seemed to be relative to the point that England should no longer maintain a policy of Free Trade for, in so doing, she continually sacrifices the bond of tariff which should be used as an economic bond of union for the British Empire.

An extensive preferential program was worked out by the Conferences, whereby the Dominions

would lower the tariff on certain listed English manufactured goods, at the same time placing high tariffs on those from other countries.³⁷ England was also to levy a tax on raw materials and food products, thus taking her away from her Free Trade policy of 1846. The Empire Marketing Board was created to stimulate the growth, production, and consumption of Empire goods. "Eat Imperially" was the slogan adopted. In 1926 the matter of preference was left much as in 1923 with the important exception that the delegates emphatically recognized the fact that the opportunities of marketing British goods were not always used, and that people needed education in the matter through such expedients as Empire shopping weeks and exhibitions. At the Conference of 1930 a 10% increase in preference rates was suggested in order to establish a tariff wall within the Empire to promote Empire business.

In the fields of naturalization and emigration it appears quite obvious that the Dominions are rather unwilling to commit themselves to any uniform Imperial policy, desiring, rather, to decide such questions for themselves as individual cases arise.

STATUS OF DOMINION MEMBERS

The question which naturally arises in the mind of the student in this phase of English history—that of Imperial Federation—is: Just what is the status of the Dominions as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and how are relations determined *inter se*? Though personal opinions regarding probable trends of action within the Empire are possible, actual statements which would attempt to define future relationships between the members of the Commonwealth would be quite absurd.

At present the general tendency seems to be averse to the adoption of any definite constitution for the Empire as a whole. Because Great Britain is a world power and essentially a European nation, it may be safely asserted that the Imperial Government in London is more concerned with peace and coöperation than with precise Dominion relationships. Even though each Dominion is "free," so long as sentiment for Empire is strong and conflicting interests do not oppose it, the Empire is likely to remain as such. The real bond is that of tradition and sentiment; the evolution of self-government has brought the Dominions to a condition of full constitutional independence by means of a continuous process which may reasonably be expected to continue. Coöperation in all matters is essential, and the Imperial Conference now serves as the most useful method of such coöperation, though its ultimate success is, of course, funda-

mentally dependent upon the ordinary work of the Governments composing it.

The Imperial Conferences have disclosed their interest in the matter of Imperial communications, because only through greatly improved forms of communication inter se can the necessary Imperial coöperation be hoped for. Although most of the constructive work accomplished has been supported for the most part, financially, at least, by the British Government, Dominion interest has been apparent in the majority of cases. Wireless and air routes now connect the most remote sections of the Empire; Dominion statistics are available to the entire Empire group; Imperial news is dispatched daily from the various Dominions and even in matters of Imperial defense one may witness some coöperation on the part of the Dominions with the Home Government. Each of the Dominions decides whether or no it shall support Great Britain in any way, and if so, to what extent; each decides whether or not to sign any treaty. Since 1926 the Dominions have been free to negotiate separate treaties, though in practice 10 Downing Street is consulted before signatures are attached thereto. Ireland and Canada exchange their own ministers with several countries. These facts only disclose how independent the Dominions are as to their own matters.

NATIONALISM vs. IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH

At present there appear to be two seats of disturbance within the Empire wherein Great Britain is justly concerned—Ireland and India.

Although nationalism still continues to entertain sufficient support in Ireland to cause frequent more or less violent outbreaks, there seem to be readjustments of circumstances taking place now and then in the Cosgrove and DeValera factions which in time will establish a satisfactory compromise between adherents of the Irish Free State and those who stand for complete independence. The Irish Free State is too dependent economically for trade and defense upon England to ever gain complete independent rule outside of the British Empire.

The relations between the British Government and India are reaching a crisis in which Britain will have to take a more definite stand than she has done previously. Recent violent outbreaks in various sections of India manifest that the spirit of nationalism is still alive; but while Ghandi is, without doubt, a disturbing element in Anglo-Indian relations, he alone can never sufficiently unite the vast and scattered mass of Indian population, with a view toward carrying out in full his policy of passive resistance through non-coöperation.

On the other hand, Great Britain cannot hope utterly to suppress India economically. Indian eco-

nomie interests must inevitably advance along with her political demands, and further concessions must be granted by Great Britain.³⁸ At the Conference of 1930 India was offered Dominion status on similar lines to that enjoyed by Canada but Ghandi and his followers continue to demand complete independence, and no less. But I am inclined to believe that as long as the Indian Civil Service remains, India will be subject to Parliamentary rule. The Nationalist Party is in the minority among the more educated Indians, for the great majority of them favor the Dominion form of self-government within the Empire, realizing that, under British rule, they enjoy many privileges and concessions which would be denied them under any independent government.

Britain is well aware of the fact that her very existence depends upon keeping her Empire. British trade depends upon her imports of raw materials from her Dominions and the home manufacture of these materials into goods which she can sell in competitive foreign markets. This tense economic dependence has revealed itself innumerable times at the Conference meetings in the keen interest which England has shown in Imperial decisions as to resources, research, preference, emigration, and naturalization policies.

It is apparent that Britain is ever desirous of further coöperating with her Dominions in order that Empire ties may be strengthened. It seems evident that England is attempting, through the medium of the Imperial Conference, to counter-balance the rising spirit of national independence in the Dominions. Since 1783 England herself has experienced several political transformations toward liberalism which have deeply influenced every nation in the Commonwealth. An Empire such as that of the British Nations must, from necessity, look for the maintenance of its existence upon democratic principles. British statesmen have been catering to that end, especially since the war and, in so doing, have created a new British Empire and a new Britain—a full recognition that the Dominions are autonomous nations within an Imperial Commonwealth, India considered as an important portion of the same, each privileged to an adequate voice in domestic and foreign policy and foreign relations through continuous consultation on all matters of common Imperial concern.³⁹

³⁸ A. E. Zimmern. *The Third British Empire* (New York, 1926), 15-17.

³⁹ Reference is to the Act of 1791 which granted to Canada a division into Upper and Lower Canada, with separate legislatures.

⁴⁰ A. L. Lowell, H. D. Hall, *The British Commonwealth* (Boston, 1927), 593. Dominion of Canada—British North America Act, 1867; Commonwealth of Australia—Constitutional Act, 1900; Union of South Africa—South Africa Act, 1909; New Zealand—Constitutional Act, 1852; Newfound-

land—admitted to the Imperial Conferences as “technically a colony rather than a Dominion.”

⁴ The Imperial Federation League was founded in 1884 by M. E. Forster.

⁵ A. B. Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (New York, 1921), 198.

⁶ Cd. 8566, 1917, 61.

⁷ The agreement of May 1920 between Britain and Canada allowing Canada the right to appoint a minister at Washington is a further logical development of Canadian status under the peace treaty. Privilege not made use of until November, 1926.

⁸ Cmd. 1474, 1923, 14.

⁹ Cmd. 1474, 1923, 9.

¹⁰ *Annual Register*, 1923, 130.

¹¹ Report on inter-Imperial Relations (*The Balfour Report*).

¹² It is interesting to contrast the opinion of Dr. A. B. Keith in *Outlook* February 5, 1927, 144-145.

¹³ Cmd. 2768, 1926, 14.

¹⁴ Cmd. 3628, 1930, 10.

¹⁵ Cmd. 2768, 1926, 55.

¹⁶ Cairo to Karachi and Khartum to Kisumu.

¹⁷ Cd. 8566, 1917, 20.

¹⁸ Cmd. 2768, 1926, 54.

¹⁹ Cmd. 1474, 1923, 21.

²⁰ Cmd. 1987, 1923, 16-17.

²¹ Cmd. 2768, 1926, 34-37.

²² Cmd. 1474, 1921, 3.

²³ Chanak Incident, September, 1922.

²⁴ July 4, 1923, this settlement replaced the Treaty of Sevres.

²⁵ Geneva Protocol, 1924.

²⁶ Other instances: Smuggling, June 6, 1924; Narcotic Laws, January 8, 1925; boundaries, February 24, 1925.

²⁷ Cmd. 1987, 1923, 13-17.

²⁸ This refers to the Locarno Treaties between Great Britain, Belgium, France, Germany and Italy. Article IX of the treaty definitely excluded the Dominions from any obligations.

²⁹ A. L. Lowell, H. D. Hale, *British Commonwealth of Nations*. (Boston 1927), 615.

³⁰ Empire control was considered most emphatically with regard to the dye and non-ferrous metals industry.

³¹ Cd. 8566, 1917, 112.

³² Cd. 9177, 1918, 63.

³³ Cd. 9177, 1918, 63.

³⁴ Cd. 8566, 1917, 6.

³⁵ Cmd. 2768, 1926, 48.

³⁶ Cmd. 2768, 1926, 50-51.

³⁷ *London Times*, November 13, 1923, 14.

³⁸ Cd. 8566, 1917, 22.

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Pupil Criticism of a Course in Problems of American Democracy

FRANK L. CLAYTON

Freehold High School, Freehold, New Jersey

High-school teachers are apt to place too low a value on the advice and criticism of pupils. Students in the writer's classes have been told to make suggestions and criticisms but they have made too little use of this opportunity in the past. They are expected to defend their criticisms. Although this position is not carried to such an extreme as to discourage suggestions by timid pupils, they may have felt that any adverse criticism would be unwelcome, no matter in whatever form it was offered.

In a course for high-school seniors in "Problems of American Democracy," the writer has endeavored to encourage and to systematize the pupil criticism so that it might be more useful. In 1930 a questionnaire was distributed to a number of pupils. The general results and the specific information

obtained seemed valuable enough to warrant the repetition of the practice the following three years. The form has been changed from time to time to include information which had been omitted in the past. Frequently, such changes were made on the advice of the pupils, in order to enable them to give fuller expression to their own views. The course for which the questionnaire was used is a combination of two half-year courses, "Problems of American Democracy" and "Economics," as offered in our State syllabus. It is divided into three parts: political, economic, and social problems. These sections overlap each other and an attempt is made to fuse rather than to show any particular demarcation between them.

The criticism sheet was discussed throughout the

year, but no exact questions were submitted to pupils until after their final form was determined. Individual opinions, not mob reactions, were desired. The questionnaire was rated near the close of the school year. There was no discussion or comparison of papers by the pupils while they were being marked. No paper was marked in such a way as to identify the pupil who filled it out; an effort was made to elicit an honest expression of opinion. The questionnaire was made up of items about which the teacher wished information.

The criticisms revealed greater agreement on the subject-matter of the course than in the judgments of methods. The course as a whole was considered interesting. In one group of replies, 90 pupils found it either very interesting or fairly interesting; no one checked it as "just another job" or "a decided bore."

The work on sociological problems has received an overwhelming majority of votes every year, not only on a check list but also in the spaces in which the pupils themselves filled in the topics that most interested them. The boys and girls in the last year of high school have their interests centered in problems of this nature to a much greater extent than the pupils two years earlier in school. If courses could be reconstructed at will, one course centered around problems of social relationships in the school, the home, and during free recreation might be recommended. Such a course would serve all the ends that the present one is intended to serve, and do it much more adequately.

Rather than have pupils accept one interpretation of present-day problems as authoritative, we use several books rather than one text. The pupils' vote on this was very decided. Almost all prefer it to using one book. There was little approach to unanimity in the rating of the individual books but enough preference was shown to serve as a valuable guide in future purchases of volumes. A study outline was rated rather indifferently.

Criticisms of method were both constructive and destructive. Our plan of instruction is by units and we use "work-sheets" for most of the year's work. The plan was not greeted with any great enthusiasm nor was it greatly disliked. The response indicated that the regular routine work of school is much the same regardless of how it is handled. During the part of the work dealing with sociological problems we have, for the last two years, divided the materials into topics of individual interest. Brief papers on these topics were read and discussed. The higher rating given this method may have been due partly to the greater interest in the subject matter, but enough favorable comments were made to warrant more extensive use of this method for this year's work.

Notebook work has always received a vote that is surprisingly favorable. The only adverse criticisms had to do with too much "copying" from a text or another notebook. This may be partly due to the idea, well grounded by this time, that the educational activities which are the most tiresome are, for that reason, most worthwhile.

Each pupil is required to write one long paper in the course of the year on some topic of general, vocational, or avocational interest. The topics vary in number and kind. Last year 92 pupils wrote on 78 topics; one of the pupils suggested that time be given in class for discussion of these individual papers. We are carrying out the suggestion this year, with good results.

From my own observation the study of "news" is difficult to manage well. Too often the practice defeats its purpose. Our informal discussions of news have been voted on so favorably that the practice has been continued in spite of its imperfections. It is this part of the work that is discussed most often in the additional remarks at the end of our questionnaire. This advice has led us to make changes. We have tried more to build the discussion on topics in which the pupils are interested rather than on those in which the teacher thinks they ought to be interested. The important thing is to develop the habit of fair, reflective thinking on problems which are really vital. One pupil wrote: "More time should be given to discussion on subjects in which we all are interested and can talk on." This seemed to express a general sentiment.

A practice which received the most favorable vote has been, for the most part, given up. This was the practice of talking with individual pupils or small groups during our "work periods." We talked on any problem that happened to come up. Although we tried to be quiet enough so that others could work, many times other pupils or even the entire class were drawn into the discussion. Large classes and crowded classrooms have almost prohibited this type of work.

Socialized work has always been favorably received. This does not seem to be due to the opportunity afforded some to avoid work. For one thing, the boys and girls are practically through high school when they answer these questions. Moreover, it is remarkable how often pupils will mark something as interesting but not valuable. There is a marked tendency in a number of pupils to approve the thing which they find unpleasant. We can scarcely deny that they have been taught this point of view.

Some of the responses of pupils are listed here, as well as indications of the use made of them. However, the chief value of such a survey of pupils' opinions lies in the fact that its results are utilized. This

helps greatly in forming a pupil-teacher relationship that is suitable for an educational system that aims to prepare pupils for life in a democratic society. We give at least verbal agreement to the idea

that the best way to prepare for future life is full living in the present. If there is any place in the school curriculum where this idea should find expression, it is in the social-studies classroom.

Current Events in World Affairs

GEORGE H. E. SMITH

Solving Problems By Assassination
Church and State in Germany and Mexico
Spanish Socialism—Oil and Warships
On The Home Front

Solving Problems By Assassination—King Alexander of Yugoslavia. It is a strange quirk in the minds of individuals which leads them to believe that the course of history can be turned in a *particular* direction by the assassination of some outstanding personality. To these people the complex political, economic, and racial conflicts in a given society are centered in the person of one man. His personality and position excites and pervades their imaginations. He symbolizes the conflict in which they are interested. He dominates it. Other influences tend to lose their importance. At last he *is* the conflict. If they can get rid of him, they believe, the conflict will be ended. With his removal from the scene all other difficulties strewn along a particular path will be removed also, and the achievement of a desired end will be brought about smoothly and rapidly. There is no way of knowing absolutely what motives sway men's minds and move them to act as they do, but it is owing to some such reasoning, in part at least, that kings, presidents, ministers of state, and other men prominent in political life, have been the victims of assassination. The thing that stands out clearly in history, however, is that while such murders often do deflect the course of events, they rarely turn it along the particular path desired by the assassin.

The latest victims in the long list of political assassinations are King Alexander of Yugoslavia and M. Louis Barthou, the French Foreign Minister. The occasion was the visit of the King to France for the purpose, it was generally alleged, of conferring with the French Minister on questions of policy in central and southeastern Europe. M. Barthou met the King at the port of Marseilles to accompany him to Paris. The streets from the port to the railway station were gay with vari-colored flags, and lined with throngs of people. As the automobile bearing the King and the Minister moved along, a man emerged from the crowd, and shouting "Vive le Roi!" jumped on its running board and fired several shots at its occupants before he was cut down by a mounted guard. The police rushed in, the crowd surged forward, more shots were fired. The assassin was beaten and trampled to death in the *melee*. After the confusion subsided, it was found that King Alexander had been killed almost instantly. M. Barthou died two hours afterward.

The deed was followed by many developments in different parts of Europe. In France there was much embarrassment and indignation over the fact that a foreign monarch was killed while a guest on French soil. Coming so soon after the Stavisky scandal, the riots of last February, and the unsolved murder of Magistrate Albert Prince who had been an important witness in the Stavisky affair, the assassination of King Alexander at Marseilles led to an outburst in France against the police and the political situation said to be responsible for the internal conditions. Several officials were removed from their posts, and an immediate cabinet crisis was believed to have been averted only by the personal power of Premier Doumergue and the approach of the cantonal elections. There was also considerable speculation as to who would take the place of M. Barthou, and whether the foreign policies set on foot by him would be followed by his successor.

In Europe generally a wave of repression against political refugees and suspicion of minority groups was aroused, creating fear and unrest in many countries. There was a demand for a round-up of all radical groups suspected of plotting against established governments. It was unofficially suggested that the League of Nations should investigate the death of King Alexander with a view toward uncovering the international complications likely to follow. This last was prompted, no doubt, by the fear of what might happen within Yugoslavia, and what effect developments there would have upon the political situation and the peace of Europe.

Yugoslavia, which is about the size of Italy and has a population of 14,000,000, embraces several of the fragments of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Its northern part, bordered in fanlike arrangement by Italy, Austria and Hungary, contains most of the three million Croats and close to the million and a quarter Slovenes in the kingdom. In the south, bordered by Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania, there are about five million Serbs. Along the Adriatic coast, Yugoslavia includes Dalmatia, Herzegovina and Montenegro. In all there are more than a dozen different nationalities in the kingdom. Except for Serbia and Montenegro both of which had been independent, most

of the territories now comprising Yugoslavia had been under the rule of Austria and Hungary prior to the World War. Under the influence of the movement for self-determination, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes united in the Declaration of Corfu, signed on July 20, 1917, by which they declared their intention of setting up a single national State under the Karagjorjevic dynasty of which the late King Alexander was then the Crown-Prince. In November, 1918, Alexander became Prince Regent owing to the advanced age of King Peter; and when the King died in 1921, Alexander was proclaimed King of the constitutional monarchy of Yugoslavia, the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Except for a common descent from the Slavic tribes that reached the Balkans through the Danube valley, there are very few ties to bind the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes together. There is conflict between the Roman Catholicism of the Croats and Slovenes and the Greek Orthodoxy of the Serbs. The presence of Moslems in the south complicates the religious problem. The Croats and Slovenes incline toward the habits, customs and culture of European civilization, while the Serbs look toward the eastern, oriental civilization. A common hatred of the Hapsburg dynasty was strong enough, however, to induce these peoples to act in unison against Austria-Hungary on many occasions before the war. And no doubt the intense desire to strengthen their independence caused them to seek unity in a single nation at the close of the war.

But the forms of unity do not always insure the substance of unity. The Croats and Slovenes desired full opportunity to maintain and develop their own institutions and culture through a large measure of local self-government. The Serbs looked upon unity as possible only through a strong centralized control emanating from Belgrade, the former Serbian capital. Intensified by the religious, economic and cultural conflicts, the political battle raged for years. On numerous occasions it flared forth in Parliament and disrupted the political processes of the country. A climax was reached when in 1928 an outburst resulted in the killing in Parliament of the Croat leader, Radich, and several of his followers. On January 4, 1929, King Alexander dissolved Parliament and proclaimed himself dictator.

Professedly, Alexander sought to hold fast to and insure the unity of the kingdom by a strong central government. It was the one essential he believed indispensable to protect the kingdom from destruction by internal conflict and against attack from without. There was always present the fear of a restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty with the renewal of the old conflicts in that quarter. As a member of the Little Entente, Yugoslavia is ranged by the side of France and thus is drawn into the Franco-German and the Franco-Italian troubles, and the political maneuverings in Central Europe. On the one hand, there is the possibility of a German-Austrian union which might easily strengthen a weakened Austria and develop a formidable threat all along the Yugoslav northern border. And on the other hand, there are signs that

the Nazis were courting favor in Yugoslavia as a possible aid to German policies in Central and South-eastern Europe. Hungary, on the North, persists in her agitation against the territorial dispositions in the peace treaties, an attitude which serves to keep Yugoslavia in constant fear of her security. Relations with Italy proper and with Italian operations in Albania have never been smooth because it is a common fear in Belgrade that the warlike spirit of Mussolini, and the desire to make the Adriatic Sea an Italian "lake" by acquisition of the Dalmatian coast, bodes no good for Yugoslavia.

Beset by the internal quarrels and these larger issues from outside, King Alexander's dictatorship was real, absolute, and ruthless. He appointed the cabinet, made his own laws, and enforced them as he pleased, despite the constitutional forms in which his actions were sometimes cast. All the other features familiar to dictatorships were present too—control of provincial affairs and elections, suppression of opposition forces and the killing or imprisonment of their leaders, possession of or control over banks, industries, utilities and other economic activities, censorship of the press, an arbitrary rule in which the dictator and a small coterie of his supporters define the rights and govern the lives of the masses of people. The people possessed no power over the actions of such a government and there was no appeal from its decrees.

To the minority groups laboring under these restrictions upon their freedom of expression and their liberty of action, Alexander, Belgrade and the Serbs seemed to dominate the nation which had started out as a voluntary union of several different groups. Many among them weighed unity, security from external attack, economic development, and the progress of the country under Alexander's dictatorship against the inferior position in which the minority groups now found themselves. Among the Croats and Slovenes there was much restlessness, despair, and underground plotting. It is usually in such an atmosphere—fertile ground for political scheming and for dreams of liberation—that revolutionary action and plans for assassination are conceived. The King's assassin, Petru Kalemén, was described as a Croat born in Zagreb, although subsequent reports cast doubt upon both his name and his birthplace. Two other men, identified as companions of Kalemén, were arrested in France on suspicion of having been implicated in the plot; while the search for others, said to be fellow-conspirators, still continues.

The abrupt termination of King Alexander's personal dictatorship will not, it appears, solve the conflict within Yugoslavia. Deep-seated antagonisms of racial, religious, economic and political content, are rarely composed by the death of one man however great his position and power with respect to them has been. More often than not, the conflicts increase in intensity in the ensuing scramble for power among the conflicting interests. The immediate result of the assassination was an outburst of popular indignation directed against those countries, unfriendly to Yugoslavia, which permitted Yugoslav political refugees

to use their soil as a base for revolutionary action. This accounts for the hostile demonstrations in Belgrade before the Italian and Hungarian consulates. The event also aroused hostility against the minority groups of Yugoslavs. But after the first wave of indignation subsided and calmer counsels prevailed, King Alexander's "political will" and the settlement of more important internal problems was awaited without hostile emotion.

Upon the death of Alexander, his eldest son, an eleven-year old boy brought home from the school he was attending in England, became King Peter II. During his minority, a regency, composed of Prince Paul and two associates, appointed by Alexander in his political testament, will manage the affairs of state. The first government under the rule of the regency has been formed with Nikola Uzonovitch as Premier; and it includes all of the men who have held the Premiership since the dictatorship began in 1929. According to recent reports these men are likely to conduct the government along the lines of the dictatorship; and already there is disappointment and dissatisfaction that the occasion for a change of rule was not used to resolve the major conflicts within the country. On the other hand, it is explained that many of the men now composing the government are as yet too strong for Prince Paul to make changes that will dispense with them. So that the conflicts personified in the rule of one man have not been removed by his death. They are likely to continue to agitate the kingdom until some more fundamental way of composing them can be found. And the corollary appears equally clear, namely, that great social problems which are not solved fundamentally by the conflicting groups themselves, are rarely solved by the instrumentality of one man no matter how absolute and extensive his power may be.

CHURCH AND STATE

Germany. Until the semi-official announcement on October 30, 1934, that Chancellor Hitler had decided finally to withdraw State interference from church affairs, it had become clear that if Church and State in Germany were to be united under Nazi control it would have to be done by force and arms.

The issue in Germany is one familiar to all dictatorships. A man or a group rises to the power of dictatorship by triumphing over many opposing elements. The victory, however, is rarely complete or absolute. The position of the dictator is usually a precarious one. The opposition may be defeated momentarily, or it may accept the dictatorship for a number of reasons, but the solid interests on which opposing elements are founded still remain. These interests are not always secular; they are sometimes religious, resting upon a material foundation of property ownership and income, rights and privileges, and emoluments of office. To maintain his position, a dictator seeks to suppress or control all opposition, to consolidate and strengthen his power, and to subject as large an area of the political, economic, and social life of the country to his absolute rule as can be done with safety. On

the other hand, the elements which had been forced to give way before the dictatorship strive to reassert themselves. They resist further encroachment upon their power and interests. Such a state of affairs often leads to many conflicts. Some of these conflicts are small and are fought and settled without serious disturbance to routine life. Others take on greater importance and are waged in the open with a violence so intense as to agitate the whole country. All the weapons of dictatorship are called into play in an effort to force all opposition to bow to the will of the dictator. Censorship of press and speech, restrictions against public assembly, arrest, banishment or execution of opposing leaders, suppression and intimidation of dissenting groups, confiscation of property, suspensions from office, and the reorganization of institutions. Such a conflict and almost all of its collaterals arose out of the attempt to force the church to fit into the Nazi pattern and accept the Nazi control.

The conflict began almost from the start of Hitler's accession to power. According to the adherents of a totalitarian State, the State is all or it is nothing. There can be no compromise, no divided rule. A small Nazi faction in church circles openly declared that "We want a church recognizing the supreme authority of the nationalist State and proclaiming the gospel of the Third Reich." They were opposed by a large group of pastors in the Protestant Church who refused to accept Nazi dictation of church affairs. For a considerable time the conflict remained quiescent. It was only after the appointment of Dr. Ludwig Mueller as Reichbishop of the official German Evangelical Church with a view toward absorbing more than a score of State churches and unifying them, that the conflict came out into the open and became serious.

Opposition had grown increasingly intense during the past two months to the plan of Reichbishop Mueller to realize "one people, one State, one church," in which "only Nazis will conduct services and only Nazis will occupy the pews." Official installation of Dr. Mueller as Reichbishop had been delayed for some time because of the rumblings of opposition. It was carried out on September 23 with much show of Nazi uniforms, pomp, and power. But instead of an expected attendance of 60,000 there was only 5,000 on hand, while in many places throughout the country crowds gathered before churches and in public places in demonstrations dealing with the situation. A statement adopted by more than 7,000 pastors opposed to the plans of Reichbishop Mueller declared that with the installation of Dr. Mueller, a "development finds its fulfillment that must fill every Evangelical Christian with deepest shame and sorrow." Quoting from the September 8 speech of Dr. Jaeger, civil administrator under Reichbishop Mueller, the statement declared "Dr. Jaeger conceives that religious confessions will be done away with to advantage and that the place of the Christian religion shall be taken by a Nordic-Christian hybrid religion." Bringing the issue to a head the statement asserted: "It has never been possible to believe that the Ecclesiastical Ministry measures had merely a formal purpose. Today no

one can doubt that the struggle within the church involves the surrender of the fundamental authority of the gospel of the reformation." The full statement was read from pulpits throughout Germany.

As the opposition stiffened and grew bolder, Dr. Jaeger resorted to political and police measures to compel acceptance of the Nazi program. He sought to force the unification of the Protestant Churches by eliminating Dr. Meisser, Bishop of Bavaria, and Dr. Wurm, Bishop of Wuerttemberg, both of whom constituted strong centers of opposition to Dr. Mueller's regime. These acts served only to increase the growing indignation. The Bavarian Church issued a Manifesto on October 14, in which it stated its own position and condemned the acts of the Reichbishop and his aides. The declaration stated that "The offensive of the civil administrator against the State Church Council can be compared only with warlike action." It closed with a call upon the pastors and communities "to render no obedience to this church government which is contrary to the faith and the Constitution." A week later those in opposition to the Reichbishop met in Berlin and adopted a solemn proclamation of independence by which they established their own church administration outside of the official sanction of the Ecclesiastical Ministry. By these manifestos, statements and declarations of independent church administration, and by hundreds of other acts of protest and defiance against State-enforced control over religious matters, the opposition made it evident that the attempt to unite the Church and State under Nazi dictatorship would end in religious schism and open conflict. The clergymen were supported by large demonstrations staged by the people in town and country. The conflict embraced a mixture of religious, political and economic interests.

With the resort to overt acts of force and intimidation by Dr. Jaeger on the one side, and the strong show of opposition on the other, the fundamental issue involved could no longer be ignored by Chancellor Hitler. It was clear now that State control over the church could not be achieved by voluntary, peaceful measures; it would have to be forced at the risk of grave danger that might even menace the foundations of Nazi political power. The alternative was a relinquishment, at least temporarily, of the Hitler aim to bring all German life, even its spiritual manifestations, under the domination of the Nazi pattern. According to the latest reliable report, Chancellor Hitler chose to retreat. On October 30, he granted an audience to Dr. Meisser and Dr. Wurm, the two bishops deposed on the order of Reichbishop Mueller, and Bishop Marahren, another leader of the Protestant opposition. At this conference, Hitler is reported to have agreed to withdraw his support from the Reichbishop of the (Nazi) Christian Church, leaving the church to its own affairs providing no assault was made on the political authority.

Mexico. Another conflict between Church and State has come to the surface in Mexico. It was provoked by the proposed amendment to Article III of the Mexican Constitution. According to drafts of the amend-

ment, the intention is to make socialistic education compulsory throughout the school system. But along with the proposal to teach that the ultimate "aim of the revolution is to overthrow capitalism" and inspire in children "love for the exploited masses and repulsion for those who exploit them," the amendment proposes to bring about "the disappearance of religious prejudices and dogmatism" and to subject religions to analysis "in the light of reason and science." This carried the government into a head-on collision with the Church which is overwhelmingly Catholic.

The project was approved by the Senate on October 20. It is reported to have the full support of President Rodriguez, and the approval of former President Calles, a strong figure behind the government. It is said also to have the endorsement of President-elect Lázaro Cárdenas, and to be one of the main points in the program of his party—the Partido Nacional Revolucionario, the Revolutionary Party.

Already there have been parades and demonstrations both in support of the government and in protest against its plans. Minor clashes have occurred here and there. The newspaper, *El Nacional*, accused Archbishop Diaz of Mexico and Archbishop Ruiz y Flores of the State of Michoacan of fomenting seditious movements against the government and of seeking foreign intervention in Mexican affairs. In a statement issued October 30, Archbishop Ruiz declared that the newspaper "is the official organ of the National Revolutionary party, and is naturally prejudiced and bitter." Answering the charge that he did write to a provincial Jesuit official asking him to help in "defense of the rights of the Catholic Church," the Archbishop said "The meaning of defense as used here is perfectly clear to every unprejudiced reader. To support its charge, *El Nacional* should prove that I intended defense to mean force of arms."

The conflict has been going on for a considerable time. In 1926-1927 it came to the surface over several issues. Since then, considerable Church property has been taken over by the government and used for schools and other public purposes. Church revenues have been cut down in many ways. Priests have left Mexico in large numbers. Officials and clerks in the government service suspected of sympathy with the protest of church authorities have been dismissed. Agitation has broken out among the university students. Labor unions have been active principally on the side of the government. All of this has created considerable unrest among the populace. And because the issues ramify throughout the political, economic and social structure of the country, there is much fear that widespread violence may ensue.

Spanish Socialism. Even though sensational events do not crowd the headlines of the world's newspapers every day, there is never a dull moment in world affairs. In Spain during the first days of October, the Socialists whose organization is considerably strong made another bid for power by a general strike. Catalonia sought to secede from Spanish rule and set up as an independent. Riots and violence broke out in Madrid, Barcelona and many other places, but the

trouble centered chiefly in Oviedo and the near-by mining towns in the Northwest Asturias. The clashes continued for several days, but finally the army, remaining loyal to the Republican Government headed by Premier Lerroux, prevailed and established peace by martial law. More than 500 people were killed and 1,100 wounded. Over 5,000 arrests were made, including Luis Companys and 31 officials of the rebellious Catalan Generalidad. With this victory, the government forces and the elements opposed to socialist aims assert that the Socialist power in Spain is broken. And yet the underlying conflict of interests—political, economic and religious—which have been fanned to fever heat and turned into intense class hatred during the past few months by extremists may write a different record in the future.

Oil and Warships. At London, the preliminary talks between Great Britain, Japan, and the United States on naval disarmament, which had been postponed since last June (see November SOCIAL STUDIES) were resumed. The method of conducting the discussions is a peculiar one. First the Japanese confer with the British while the Americans wait around. Then the American and the Japanese put their heads together. Later the British and Americans confer. Then the process is repeated all over again in different combinations. It is a little bit confusing. Nothing has come of the talks so far, except that Japan insists upon naval equality now while the American negotiators, headed by Mr. Norman H. Davis, are just as firm against granting such a position to the Japanese.

In another area, issues have arisen to add to the difficulties over armaments. These issues concern the Japanese Government's attitude toward the oil business. Its spokesmen have been reluctant to agree to make changes in the new oil monopoly law in Japan, and they have indicated an intention of establishing a State Oil Monopoly in Manchuria. British and American oil interests have become alarmed over such developments, and both governments have been protesting diplomatically for several months. On the back pages of the newspapers other complications are noted. Among them is the belief expressed by high officials of the Japanese navy to newspaper reporters that Manchukuo must build an ocean fleet when her finances are better. With the deadlock between the Japanese and Americans at London appearing insoluble for the moment, Premier Ramsay MacDonald hopes to gain time over any break in the discussions by using the device of inviting each delegation to visit his estate on different occasions over the next two weeks. Meanwhile there is the tacit belief that the Americans and Japanese may find a way to "save face" without conceding too much in substance.

On The Home Front. Developments in the United States were particularly "spotty" during the month with few prominent issues, other than the election scrambles, coming to the surface. The *Literary Digest* made public the result of a second "sample" poll on popular sentiment for the New Deal. Of the 65,000 persons polled, 50.97 per cent approved the Roosevelt

administration and 49.03 per cent were against it. By comparison with an earlier poll, it was stated that sentiment for the New Deal had declined by 18.06 per cent. Chief among the election developments were the oddities of the political platforms, the open repudiation of the Sinclair candidacy by George Creel, and the Republican charges that the Democrats were "buying" votes with relief funds. Charles A. Beard has an interesting commentary in the November *Current History* magazine on the platform adopted by the New York Republicans. Condemning the New Deal measures in bitter terms, this platform calls for "a return to the self-balancing, competitive system of political economy, which preserves initiative and rewards enterprise, industry and thrift of the individual citizen." And then, under the declaration that "our people . . . must have the help of government in this emergency," it proceeds in detail to call for almost all of the measures it denounced in another part of the same document. The split of the Socialist party into "left" and "right" wing factions at their convention last June appeared to be confirmed by a referendum which showed 5,933 for and 4,872 against the hotly contested Detroit declaration. A movement of Communists toward a united front with the Socialists seems to be an interesting sidelight in the development.

Relief administrator Harry Hopkins, feeling called upon to defend the distribution of \$135,000,000 in relief funds among 47 states in the closing days of October, declared: "Mr. Fletcher (Chairman of the Republican National Committee) has seen fit to accuse me of playing politics because I am feeding the hungry, clothing the naked and sheltering the destitute, regardless of their sex, age, creed, color, race or place of residence. If that be politics, I plead guilty, but decline to enter into argument with Mr. Fletcher. Hunger is not debatable."

On the labor front, the Upper Manhattan Garage Owners Association of New York City, which includes some 200 garage owners, announced they were returning their blue eagles and that the old scale of 72 hours a week for their more than 1,000 employees would be restored. At Washington, the President issued an order reducing the hours of labor to 36 per week in the cotton garment industry. In annual convention in California the American Federation of Labor voted to fight for the 30-hour week; and adopted the method of vertical organization of unions in place of craft groups in the mass production industries. During the first week in November strikes broke out in the chain store field in Cleveland and Milwaukee, with others threatened in different parts of the country. Alleging that it wished to avert violence, one chain having some 400 grocery and meat stores in the Ohio city closed them and asserted its intention of retiring from business in that city.

On October 11, the Treasury closed its books on the government's Fourth Liberty Loan conversion with securities of over a billion dollars of the \$1,250,000,000 called for redemption turned in for others at lower rates of interest. The next day the Treasury issued a call for redemption on April 15 of an additional block

of \$1,870,000,000 of the bonds. By a speech before the American Bankers Association on October 24, President Roosevelt "made peace," it was generally alleged, with the bankers. Earlier on the same day, Chief Justice Alfred A. Wheat of the District of Columbia Supreme Court rendered a decision holding the Railroad Retirement Act unconstitutional. Over 134 railroads joined in the suit which ended in their favor unless the decision is appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

In the field of foreign affairs, besides the armament discussions, the State Department was called upon to meet the situation raised by the Chinese protest against the American silver policy which China declares is injuring the stability of her monetary system and may force her to adopt a gold basis. In a formal note Secretary Hull replied that in operating under the silver purchase act, the United States would "keep in view the considerations put forward by the Chinese Government." During the month also, the German Govern-

ment exercised its right to end the existing trade treaty with this country. At the same time, the German Embassy announced a plan whereby American holders of Dawes plan bonds will receive only about 75 per cent of the interest currently due as against full payment to bondholders in seven other countries. Debt talks with the Soviet officials have been moving along sluggishly for some time owing, it is reported, to the difficulties likely to be raised in other countries if a Soviet-American debt accord is reached. Significant in the field of commercial relations is the continued rise in world trade, and the announcement, on October 12, of the successful conclusion of the first trade deal of the Second Export-Import Bank of Washington whereby the sale of 14,000,000 pounds of Kentucky tobacco to the Spanish tobacco monopoly was financed. Still more significant for the long future, perhaps, is the announcement on November 2, that radio broadcasting celebrates its fourteenth anniversary.

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

HOWARD E. WILSON, *Chairman, Harvard University*

THE COMMISSION'S CONCLUSIONS

Symptomatic of the interest which the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the Commission on the Investigation of the Social Studies have aroused are the series of conferences devoted to discussion of it in Missouri. At George Washington University on October 20, the President of the National Council for the Social Studies led a discussion of the *Report* which was participated in by a selected panel and about seventy-five members of the St. Louis County Social-Studies Teachers Association. The same Association sponsored a meeting on November 1, where Dr. H. Y. McClusky, of the University of Michigan, led a discussion of the *Report*. And at the meeting of the Missouri State Teachers Association in Kansas City of November 9, a third panel, led by Dr. A. C. Krey, of the University of Minnesota, discussed the implications of the Commission's *Conclusions*.

The *Report* is attracting much attention in the magazine also. In addition to the articles appearing in the *SOCIAL STUDIES*, teachers are likely to be interested and challenged by Professor Franklin Bobbitt's review of the *Conclusions and Recommendations* in the *School Review* for September, 1934 (XLII, 7, pp. 547-550), and by the article of Professor Philip W. L. Cox called, "Are the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission on the Social Studies 'Startling' or 'Alarming?'" in *School and Society* for October 27, 1934 (Vol. 40, No. 1035, pp. 554-57). These are but two of the many articles appearing each month discussing a matter of the greatest importance to teachers of the social studies.

FIFTH YEARBOOK OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

The *Fifth Yearbook* of the National Council is scheduled to appear about January 15, 1935. Its theme is *The Historical Approach to Methods of Teaching the Social Studies*. The contributors have traced the evolution of various aspects of methods and have given something of a picture of their status today. The Yearbook is edited by Edgar B. Wesley, first vice-president of the National Council, and inquiries about it should be directed to him at the University of Minnesota.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

An educational conference, devoted largely to the social studies, was held at the University of Nebraska on June 27, 28, and 29 under the auspices of the state teachers' association and the Extension Division and the College of Education. Professor Edgar B. Wesley, of the University of Minnesota, gave three lectures dealing with the nature of the social sciences and the reorganization of the curriculum. Professor LeRoy Burton, of the University of Southern California, discussed the problem of supervision in the social studies, and Dr. Helen MacIntosh discussed methods of teaching the social studies in the elementary schools. President Marvin Pittman, of Statesboro Teachers College, Georgia, discussed the effects of social conditions on school organization. The conference was attended by about two hundred schoolmen. Plans are being made to publish the papers presented to the conference, which will probably become an annual event.

DECEMBER MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Attention is directed to the program for the meetings of the National Council for the Social Studies to be held in Washington, D.C., on Saturday, December 27, 1934, which is printed elsewhere in this issue of the *SOCIAL STUDIES*. All who are interested in the teaching of the social studies are accordingly invited to attend. The sessions are to be held in the Hotel Mayflower.

Particular attention is directed to the morning meeting, at which Professor Carl Wittke, head of the History Department at Ohio State University will discuss the possibilities of academic freedom for teachers in secondary schools. Professor Wittke is chairman of the committee of the American Association of University Professors which has been active in maintaining academic freedom at the college level. It is to be hoped that his discussion is one step toward the establishment of a committee which will strengthen the hands of secondary-school teachers in their stand for honest teaching.

CONSUMERS' GUIDE

As part of its educational activity the Consumers' Counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Bureau of Home Economics, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, issues semi-monthly the *Consumers' Guide*. The *Guide* emphasizes "the consumer's right to full and correct information on prices, quality of commodities, and on costs and efficiency of distribution. It aims to aid consumers in making wise and economical purchases by reporting changes in prices and costs of food and farm commodities. It relates these changes to developments in the agricultural and general programs of national recovery." The data presented in the *Guide* are interestingly enlivened by means of historical information, pictures, graphical devices, picture maps, and other illustrative aids. The *Consumers' Guide* may be secured free of charge by addressing the Consumers' Counsel, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

"EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP" IN EUROPE

In the October, 1934, issue of the *Harvard Teachers Record* there appears an illuminating article by Warren C. Seyfert, entitled, "The Young Nationalist in Europe." The author in his analysis of powerful movements outside the schools indoctrinating for a closed-minded nationalism, describes the organization, purposes and methods of the three dominant youth organizations of Europe, namely, the Balilla in Italy, the Hitler-Jugend in Germany, and the Young Communist League in Russia. The article merits serious consideration by all concerned with the perplexing problem of "education for citizenship."

PAGEANTS AND PLAYS

The National Council for the Prevention of War has prepared a "List of Pageants and Plays" for children, young people, and adults, with which they have also

Program

NATIONAL COUNCIL

for the

SOCIAL STUDIES

Washington, D.C.

Saturday, December 29, 1934



10:00 A.M. Mayflower Hotel, Main Dining Room

Presiding: Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University, President, National Council for the Social Studies

"Can We Get Academic Freedom for Teachers in the Secondary School?"

Professor Carl Wittke, Ohio State University

Discussion

Business Session: Report for 1934; Election of Officers

1:00 P.M. Luncheon of Allied Associations. Mayflower Hotel, Ball Room

Informal discussion of the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission on the Investigation of the Social Studies

Presiding: Professor William John Cooper, George Washington University

3:30 P.M. Mayflower Hotel, Chinese Room

Presiding: Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University

"The Use of Magazines in Social Studies Classes." Roy A. Price, North High School, Quincy, Massachusetts

"A Survey of Organizations of Social Studies Teachers in the United States." Julian C. Aldrich, High School, Webster Groves, Missouri

"Teaching Pupils the Skill of Making Comparison." Wilson C. Colvin, Staunton Military Academy, Staunton, Virginia

included a special list of church plays, dramatic readings, and plays for trained groups. The plays, pageants, and readings are arranged alphabetically under each group with notations concerning occasions for which they are particularly appropriate and information as to price and organizations or firms from which the plays may be procured. The "List of Pageants and Plays" may be secured by addressing the Educational Department, National Council for Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, Washington, D.C.

EDUCATIONAL FILMS

The Harvard Film Service offers for sale a number of educational films devoted to the arts, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. Among the films, the following are of special significance to social-science teachers: "Three Centuries of Massachusetts," "Interdependence," "Land Transportation," "Medieval Moderns," "An Unknown Race," "Bedouins of the Sahara," "International Ice Patrol," "Belgian Cities," and "New York Impressions." The Film Service also operates a limited rental service. A catalogue containing information about the films may be secured by addressing the Harvard Film Service, Biological Laboratories, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

MCKINLEY MAPS AND OTHER SOCIAL-STUDIES MATERIALS

The McKinley Publishing Company, 1021 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, has issued a new catalogue describing the outline maps and publications for history and the other social studies issued by their company. Social-science teachers searching for materials which will illustrate and enrich the subject matter of the social studies will be interested in securing a copy of the up-to-date catalogue.

TEACHERS' EDITION OF "CURRENT EVENTS"

Current Events, the little classroom paper which for many years past has been bringing information of current happenings to school pupils, now issues a *Teachers' Edition of Current Events*, which contains lesson plans for teaching current events, a monthly pictorial review of current events, and other items of interest to teachers. An interesting feature of the coming year's numbers will be a series of editorials contributed by educators interested in the social studies. Teachers interested in the *Teachers' Edition of Current Events* should address the American Education Press, 40 South Third Street, Columbus, Ohio.

Ashley Sampson "hopes and prays that the kings will come back, not so much for political as for psychological and cultural reasons. Monarchies stand for idealism as opposed to utilitarianism—a rule by quality rather than by quantity; but just as the nobler systems of idealism prove to be utilitarian in the best sense, so will the ideal state of monarchy be democratic in the fullest sense." *English Review*, October, 1934.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY

During the summer session of 1934 Dr. Franklin D. Scott, of the Superior State Teachers College, broadcast over Station WEBC his lectures of a course on historical biography. In connection with the course there was prepared an interesting list of historical biography pertaining to the lectures, in which were discussed important persons from the time of Charlemagne down to Franklin D. Roosevelt. This list is sent free to those who request it through the courtesy of the Superior State Teachers College and Station WEBC, Superior, Wisconsin.

TEACHING POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY

In an effort to make available to pupils and teachers practical and functional material designed to teach political responsibility, the National Self-Government Committee (80 Broadway, New York), under the chairmanship of Richard Welling, issues a series of timely bulletins. Among them are the following: "Civics as It Should Be Taught," "Student Participation as a Training for Citizenship," "Tomorrow's Americans," and "Opinion of Dr. Charles W. Eliot on Self-Government as Character Training for Citizenship."

SCHOOLS AND NATIONALISM

Bessie L. Pierce contributes a timely article entitled, "The School and the Spirit of Nationalism," to the September, 1934, number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. In the article the author traces the effect of contemporary economic, social, and political thought on the teaching of the schools from colonial times to the present; describes such influences as biased textbooks, pressure groups, and out-of-school devices in creating a spirit of nationalism among pupils today; discusses present-day movements toward internationalism in education; and presents the evils of nationalism. The author concludes that, since the school is the disseminator of culture, its greatest service lies in a departure from the nationalistic ego and quotes from the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the Commission on the Social Studies to the effect that "education . . . is compelled to bring into its program of instruction the scientific, intellectual, ethical, and aesthetic ideals, discoveries, and manifestations which give underlying unity to the culture of the Western World and are bringing Asia within a common orbit of civilization."

The Mediterranean has once more become the center of sea-power owing to the rivalry of powers using it as a means of transit to their far-flung dominions. The remodeled strategy at sea has been forced upon western Europe by the development of air-power. England is urged to devote her attention to Levantine interests and to disregard Gibraltar which may prove the heel of Achilles in her foreign policy (Lord Strabogli in the *October Nineteenth Century*).

Book Reviews

Edited by HARRY J. CARMAN AND J. BARTLETT BREBNER, *Columbia University*

Shadow of the Plantation. By Charles S. Johnson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xxiv, 214. \$2.50.

It is a significant omen for American social science that students of cultural forms and folkways are in increasing numbers approaching the cultures of these United States with the same scientific curiosity and objectivity heretofore reserved for primitive cultures. This is the first of three current studies of the culture of the American Negro in the deep South to be published—the other two studies, not yet ready for publication, being studies of Mississippi Negro communities by two anthropologists fresh from work on primitives in the Pacific. The author of the present volume, while not an anthropologist, is the leading American Negro sociologist, a man of rare sensitivity, thoroughly trained at the University of Chicago, and for the last several years head of the department of sociology at Fisk University.

Confronted as all of us teachers are with the difficulty of securing interestingly written, objective, first-hand materials on contemporary American culture, this study commends itself instantly by reason of its scientific candor and ease of reading. It avoids the rigidities of form and style which make the effort to send young students to the monographic literature of most anthropologists the despair of all of us; while the fact that it deals with a primitive culture about which all high-schools children know something makes it an obvious channel through which to introduce children to habits of objectivity of mind in approaching cultural phenomena.

Dr. Johnson and his assistants made an intensive study of 612 Negro families in eight neighboring settlements in the lower part of Macon County, Alabama. The fact that these families lived in the same county in which Tuskegee is located, only a day's mule ride to the south, will serve to heighten the interest of American readers in the extremely primitive conditions depicted. It is a region of straggling settlement, with church or store standing gauntly alone at the crossroads, and cabins in remote little clusters or scattered singly at wide intervals along the roads—the whole region connected by an intricate system of footpaths. A world of few autos, of blue denim figures trudging slowly, where illegitimacy is less frowned upon by the churches as a "social sin" than playing cards and baseball. Not a degenerate culture but just one of many areas in the deep south where economic and social illiteracy has been allowed to run on for generations unchecked and unhelped.

The six main sections deal with the historical and social setting; the family (with such sub-sections as courtship and marriage, the ideal wife and husband according to the "lights" of these black folk, children

who are legitimate, "stolen" and "by the way," the canons of marital "respectability," what people eat and how they house themselves, and so on); the economic life; schooling—such as it is; the church; and play life.

Photographs scattered through the text tell their own story, while the constant and apt use of direct quotations make the "feel" of this Negro culture, portrayed from the inside by Negro scientists, get across to the rest of us living so remotely in our white-man's culture.

ROBERT S. LYNDE

Columbia University

Labor Laws of Twelve Southern States. New York: National Consumers' League, 156 Fifth Avenue, June, 1934. Pp. 12 (6 charts). Single copies, 15c.

Eight or ten years ago a capable Englishwoman came over here on some Foundation's research fellowship, to study the enforcement of Labor Legislation in the American States. I met her shortly after she had visited the South. Her prize account was of a particular State's Department of Labor, where the Commissioner, who was also the sole factory inspector, had been appointed at the age of 78, and in a year and a half had made one reported inspection. And it was a booming industrial state of the New South.

Here is not quite the first but certainly the most inclusive study of the position of protective legislation in the South. It was inspired by the Consumers' League, which has been succeeding for a good long time in arousing the users of industrial products to the conditions of danger, poverty and fatigue under which many of our wearables and eatables are made. The job was put through by the Economics staff and students at Sweet Briar College. It does not look like the laborious compilation it was; you would think that anybody could write around to State capitols and ask for booklets on the labor laws and summarize the booklets in a few weeks. But some Southern States do not even have printed copies of these laws to the protection of which the operatives are supposed to appeal, and others have so little system about their enforcing agencies that accurate information about money spent on inspections and in clerical service simply couldn't be had.

The results of the study are given in six charts. They cover the laws regulating child labor, hours of labor and night work for women, workmen's compensation, factory conditions, and the organizations and appropriations of the Departments of Labor for twelve Southern States (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia). Under most of the charts is a list of standards

set up by some appropriate outside body. Some of the States come almost up to scratch in a few directions, but they are far below in most things, and in some phases of protection shockingly backward. Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina have no workmen's compensation laws; no Southern State has any important prohibition of night work for women, tolerated weekly hours of labor are from 14 to 20 more than the 40 which is recommended; and Alabama and Florida place no limit on weekly working hours. Some enforcement provisions are ludicrous; one State makes its two child labor inspectors its only factory inspectors, pays them (together) \$3,500, and has "no definite appropriation for traveling expenses." Yet under such circumstances some inspectors work heroically, and even for segments of their fields, quite ably.

The moral is: steady pressure by Southern people to get the laws brought abreast. We do not know how permanent Codes are, and they do not cover many points which have always been the business of statute and inspection. This pamphlet will help tremendously. Notice that it was done by, and largely for (Southern) women.

GEORGE E. MITCHELL

Columbia University

American Literature: A Period Anthology. Edited by Oscar Cargill. *The Roots of National Culture, Vol. I.* Edited by Robert E. Spiller, xv, 758 pp. \$1.50. *The Romantic Triumph, Vol. II.* Edited by Tremaine McDowell, xiii, 744 pp. \$1.50. *The Rise of Realism, Vol. III.* Edited by Louis Wann, xvi, 805 pp. \$1.50. *The Social Revolt, Vol. IV.* Edited by Oscar Cargill, xv, 469 pp. \$1.35. *Contemporary Trends, Vol. V.* Edited by John Herbert Nelson, xv, 506 pp. \$1.25. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. The set is \$6.50.

The possibility of bringing to the teaching of history a wider variety of aids is one which is very stimulating and very fruitful. With the passing of the narrow view of the problem of presenting history, much greater latitude is given to teacher and interpreter in the selection of material and in the making of judgments. Perhaps no body of illustrative reading is more appealing to students than that which can be found in general literature and this latest anthology will prove exceedingly convenient.

Nothing is so revealing to the student of the history of a given period as the literary output of the time. The writings of the day reveal the mind of the people, and the state of the mind of the leaders and the led is a vital factor in the character of any epoch. In the evolution of the United States, as these volumes show, the stream of history can be traced through the thoughts of the succeeding generations of writers. Through the pages of the Puritan divines and the eighteenth-century rationalists, one reads the growth of that independence of mind and action which played so large a part in the bringing about the struggle for independence. There followed a wave of romantic fervor which expressed the "spirit of self-reliant expansion" so characteristic of the years preceding the civil war. Here the student finds so clearly displayed that

optimism and that disregard for the realities of the situation which distorted the American view and contributed so much to the folly of the Civil War. There followed an increasing materialism which brought those who wrote to the closer understanding of actual conditions and to a realistic conception of their art. The materialism of the post-war period, however, produced a definite reaction and the turn of the century brought a wave of social reform which in literature was climaxed in the work of the muckrakers in the days of Theodore Roosevelt. The groping and uncertainty, the doubts and excesses of the years since the World War are vividly illustrated by the writers of this present day.

Such in brief is the outline of illustration which this anthology provides the teacher and student. Each of the five volumes is introduced by an essay from the pen of its editor. These essays taken together are an excellent literary history of the United States. Each volume contains selections from the minor as well as the major writers of prose and verse and the anthology is particularly valuable because of the extensive prose selections which it contains. Each volume is equipped with an extensive series of notes including biographical sketches of all authors who are cited. These biographical sketches are very convenient, particularly in the last two volumes where writers are so nearly contemporary as not to have achieved full length biographies as yet.

This series is an invaluable tool for history work in secondary school and college and it is to be hoped that teachers who have not experimented with the literary approach will consider the possibility made so convenient by this anthology.

ROY F. NICHOLS

University of Pennsylvania

Russian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Eastern Question in 1838 and 1839. By Philip E. Mosely. Harvard Press, 1934. Harvard Historical Monographs No. IV. 178 pp.

The study of nineteenth-century European history, and especially that of diplomatic history, has become a veritable profession for erudite scholars, and that profession is being "perfected" by the unremitting industry and painstaking researches (though not always of the first order) of our scholars. Like our traders, they have become cosmopolitans; while the former have set out to discover new markets for their over-produced merchandise, the latter have been unearthing new fields of study and exploiting new "facts." The above work is one of the most recent results of such a study dealing with a rather limited period of European diplomatic history.

Dr. Mosely, conceivably true to the saying that the whole must be discovered in its smallest parts (Goethe), wisely limits his field of study to a brief period, hoping to find in it the clues and the *Leitmotif* of Russian diplomacy in the East. In the course of his researches not only that diplomacy receives due attention but the Anglo-Russian relations become an absorbing topic

while the question of the Straits and that of Egypt always loom large in the forefront. The Russian diplomacy, which reached its haughty climax in the still-born Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (July 8, 1833), already had taken its downward course at the time of the *reopening* (this word would seem to fit better into the title of the book since in 1938-1839 the Eastern Question had once more cropped up before the cabinets of Europe). A study of the period of 1832-1833 and 1838-1839 clearly shows that no matter what cards the Russian diplomats had in their hands, they knew not how to play the diplomatic game. Like the diplomat-bunglers of the German Empire at the close of the twentieth century, they were second rate amateurs in a game usually played with skill and always with finesse by men trained in the Palmerstonian school.

The work is one of the very few in any language dealing directly with the subject. As such, one could have hoped a good deal more from its author than what he has produced. Several years of research studies among the best collections in this country and a year's research in the archives at Moscow have either failed to impress Mr. Mosely or else he has failed to put his materials to good use. Neither the brief index of the book nor its some thirty pages closely printed appendix, containing Menshikow's, Pozzo di Mergo's and Butnev's reports to Nesselrode of January, June, and October, 1838, add much to the quality of the work.

A. O. SARKISSIAN

Paris

The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. VII, Part One, *Australia*; Part Two, *New Zealand*. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 759 pp., \$7.00; xiii, 309 pp., \$3.50.

In many ways this volume, or more particularly the Australian part, seems to be the best of the five thus far published in the series. Doubtless, experience with the earlier volumes has not gone for nothing, as seems to be indicated by a comparison with the Canadian volume in the matter of the proportionate emphasis given to local dominion history and to British policy. Probably, however, the greater success is owing to the shorter time period and the less complicated development. Australia's Anglo-Saxon history begins after the American Revolution with the need for a new convict settlement. New Zealand did not really become a colony until 1840. Neither country had so potent and influential a neighbor as the United States. New Zealand had both a native problem and the problem of two civilizations, but neither rivaled the South African or Canadian analogues in intensity, and Australians entered an almost empty country. Moreover, both dominions have nourished and rejoiced in a remarkable sense of British-ness which makes it more congenial for their historians to write their histories as part of the history of British Empire than it was for Canadians. The New Zealand volume, in particular, echoes the old prideful boast, "More British than Britain." At any rate, both volumes are, in general, marked by an unhurried, uncrowded, intimate tone which make them better reading than the histories of

the Old Empire, India, Canada and Newfoundland which already have appeared.

The story is chiefly of man's wrestling with nature. Professor E. O. G. Shann is especially to be complimented on his two chapters about economic development. Wool, gold, dry-farming, refrigeration and producers' coöperatives fall into convincing sequence and relationship. The commerce with the islands, the problem of Asiatic and island labor and the recurrent derangements of commodity prices are kept in step with the political development and with the narrowing of the free world market. More light on two somewhat speculative problems would have been welcome. Nothing is more remarkable in Australian history than the doleful comments and forebodings on the moral and physical qualities of the Sydney Settlement before the Napoleonic wars and the delighted recognition of the magnificent physique of succeeding generations. Australia, like California, and perhaps for the same reasons of diet and climate, has bred a special Anglo-Saxon type. Secondly, Australia and New Zealand were so remarkable for social experimentation and the entry of labor into politics that amplification of the discussions of these phenomena would have been welcome even at the cost of abbreviating their description. Social history has a bad way of falling out between the chapters of coöperatively written histories.

The history of constitutional development contains much to interest the student, although problems and theories of colonization and land settlement assumed in Australasia the dominant position enjoyed by constitutional affairs in Canada. Sir Harrison Moore's chapter on the working of the Australian constitution is remarkably fine. Canadian pioneering saved the Australasian colonies much grief and friction, but just as Canada drew her morals from the American Civil War in framing her constitution, so did Australia measure up the Canadian instrument and the decisions of the United States Supreme Court when federation was being made before 1901. To an outsider, it would seem that while railways, customs, finance and water supply receive appropriate attention in connection with the long-delayed federation, not enough attention is given in Sir Robert Garran's chapter to fear, that notorious fomentor of other federations. The matter comes up incidentally in two other chapters.

The New Zealand section is not so good as the Australian. Indeed it seems occasionally a little spun-out and repetitive and it ends with a chapter of prophecy—something of an oddity in a history. There is a curious air of conservatism for the history of a country which seemed to be all that was radical a generation ago. There are signs of the disquiet which recent economic events have engendered in New Zealand, but they do not greatly dilute the impression of mature conservatism looking back on the extravagances of its youth. Very notable, of course, is the characteristic distaste for dominion status if it should imply taking any stand seriously opposed to British policy.

The two parts under review have more of the merits and fewer of the defects which have been characteristic of the Cambridge coöperative histories. They become

at once the standard books of historical reference for Australia and New Zealand. As usual, their bibliographical notes supersede anything that has existed before and carry the student down to the publications of recent years.

B.

The Great Trek. By E. A. Walker. New York: Macmillan, 1934. xii, 389 pp., \$5.00. [*The Pioneer Histories*, edited by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson.]

American students might well and profitably return the compliment paid to their history and historiography in Professor Walker's book by reversing his process. He has used the history of the American frontier to illuminate his account of how the Boers went out into southern Africa from the Cape Colony. American readers will find that he not only provides them with interesting analogies to the behavior of the North American westward tide, but enough differences, notably in the matters of religion and government, to provoke useful re-examination of their own familiar history. The Trekker Boers were an Old Testament pastoral folk, so much so that even the Mormons are not closely comparable. The problems of African and American aborigines and the responses to them, while superficially similar, were marked by real differences. Even the half-breeds of the two regions found different destinations.

Professor Walker writes with distinction and with the easy command of apt illustration which comes from complete familiarity with the sources. He has something of the same historical temper as that shown by W. P. Webb in *The Great Plains*. He makes his adventurous Boers and their doings quite credible by treating them in terms of their earlier history in a potent environment. The trek is not attributed purely to the coming of British rule. It began before that and was the response of pastoralists who preferred space and abundant labor to effective government, particularly from the sponsors of the anti-slavery movement. The movement can be described in a leisurely way because the author had a smaller task than his colleagues in *The Pioneer Histories*. His book is in the usual beautiful format of the series and contains three of the decorative, yet useful, Emery Walker maps.

B.

Handbook of N.R.A., Second Edition. By Louis Mayers, New York and Washington: Federal Codes, Inc., 1934. xxiii, 841 pp.

The A.B.C. of the N.R.A. By Charles L. Dearing and others. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1934. xiv, 185 pp.

The New Deal in Action. By Schuyler C. Wallace. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934. x, 243 pp.

Economic Problems of the New Deal. By Willard E. Atkins, A. A. Friedrich and Viola Wyckoff. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1934. 96 pp.

The National Recovery Program. Revised Edition. By James D. Magee, Willard E. Atkins and Emanuel

Stein. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1934. 81 pp.

Beyond the New Deal. By David Lawrence. New York: Whittlesey House, 1934. vii, 321 pp.

It's Up to Us. By James P. Warburg. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1934. xiii, 207 pp.

A Short History of the New Deal. By Louis M. Hacker. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1934. 151 pp.

This random selection from the rising tide of New Deal literature does not pretend to be exhaustive or even altogether representative. It is a selection which will suggest to the inquirer further lines of study rather than equip him with a full armory for support or opposition to the Roosevelt plan.

Dr. Mayers' *Handbook* is the most useful source available for a study of the administrative aspects of the N.R.A. He has collected the documents—the relevant statutes, administrative orders, codes, state enforcements acts and other official materials—that underlie the basic operations of the N.R.A. Together with the bi-weekly *N.R.A. Reporter* edited by him, the *Handbook* is an indispensable compilation for a detailed study of this most significant experiment in government regulation of industry. Of primary value to the teacher investigating the N.R.A. from the administrative standpoint, it will remain the most important unofficial source book on the N.R.A.

The A.B.C. of the N.R.A. is the first of a series of studies by the staff of the Brookings Institution which is intended to record the process of political and administrative evolution during the Roosevelt administration. Where Dr. Mayers' *Handbook* is a collection of raw materials, this little volume is an attempt to refine them into a comprehensible picture of the administrative processes of N.R.A. Intended primarily as a record rather than an appraisal, the volume offers the student of the field a carefully digested account of the administrative organization of N.R.A., the code-making process and the procedure of administration and enforcement. It should prove invaluable to teachers and advanced students seeking an understanding of the administrative problems and formulas of the first period of the N.R.A.

Professor Wallace's *The New Deal in Action* is a reprint and elaboration of his articles appearing in *Today* during the past year. It is an effort to interpret the whole range of the New Deal program under the rubrics of financing, agriculture, industry, the home owner, transportation, water power, relief and public works. The chapters are brief and interestingly written, full of facts, many of which are not easily obtainable in so compact a form, and sufficiently interpretative to offer the reader a valuable chart through the myriad activities of the last year and a half. The book will prove a most useful adjunct to class work in school and college in offering the student well written and accurate materials on many of the issues that are before the country at the moment. Writing as a supporter of the New Deal, Professor Wallace has maintained a friendly impartiality and ends on a note of query as to the future.

Economic Problems of the New Deal and The Na-

tional Recovery Program are two of several similar publications by members of the Economics Department of New York University. In the former, an attempt is made to indicate the organized group interests whose impact upon the direction of the New Deal is traceable through the headlines of the daily papers. They have collected items from various sources, official and unofficial, in an attempt to suggest the areas of conflict, and the opposing interest groups which marshalled across these different no-mans' lands. Their chapter headings will indicate the range of their analysis: The Embattled Farmer, The Growing Labor Conflict, Money Manipulation, Controlling the Sale of Securities, Toward Monopoly, The Plight of the Consumer, Toward Government Ownership of the Railroads, Taxes, Who Shall Pay. In the second of the two pamphlets, a more detailed analysis and appraisal of three major aspects of the New Deal are attempted—The National Industrial Recovery Act, the Farm Program, Money, Banking and Finance. There are many statistical tables and other data useful to the teacher or student, with sufficient descriptive material to give a well rounded picture of the legislative and administrative developments in these three major fields of Roosevelt policy. Both are useful items for the school or college library shelves.

David Lawrence's *Beyond the New Deal* is one of the more valuable of the Opposition utterances. It is valuable in two aspects: first, that the arguments are candidly stated and second, that the author deals with the governmental as well as with the economic aspects of the problem of recovery. His position is that of the middle-ground conservative; he supports government loans for the durable goods industries and a return to the gold standard, no increase in taxation, freeing of industry from regulation beyond that to prevent unfair trade practices and certain other by-products of the economic struggle. He deplores a materially greater share of power for labor, a trend toward higher taxes and most significant perhaps a politicised administration of what he recognizes must be a greatly enlarged governmental machine. The arguments are stated rather than elaborated and for that reason leave the reader with a good many unsupported assertions both of doctrine and of fact. But none the less, it is one of the more articulate and intelligible statements of the conservative position.

Mr. Warburg, like Mr. Lawrence is in Opposition. He writes from long practical experience in banking and industry, and frames his indictment in simpler and more explicit terms. His style is terse, almost epigrammatic; his point of view forthright. He is not afraid to admit the errors and shortcomings of the days of rugged individualism, or to accept the idea of a good deal stricter control of the business, finance, and industry of the country. But he believes in the capitalist system, based on the principle of individual initiative and private enterprise, and here sets forth at once an adverse appraisal of the New Deal and the outlines for the Next Deal, as he sees it.

Perhaps the most brilliant appraisal of the New Deal—and accomplished in a space of less than 125

pages—is Louis Hacker's *A Short History of the New Deal*. If Mr. Lawrence is gloomily conservative, Mr. Hacker is passionately liberal. He documents each assertion and equips his arguments with carefully checked data both from official and unofficial sources; his doubts about the efficacy of the New Deal are therefore more persuasively presented. His slender volume is a model of the writing of contemporary history. Whether the reader will agree with him or not in many of his conclusions, none can fail to be stimulated by the cogent presentation of his viewpoint or provoked into more effective thinking on his own part by the shrewd and often brilliant dissection of the various aspects of the New Deal program. In so brief a space, it is an achievement to have been able to include the pertinent data of all its major aspects; indeed the factual materials included are sufficient for classroom reading in both school and college courses. Mr. Hacker's is likely to remain for a good while the ablest and most illuminating account of the first year and a half of the Roosevelt program. That he, also, is among the Opposition does not blind him to its merits, or to the somber alternatives which confronted the President on that fateful 4th of March.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Amherst College

Recent Political Thought. By Francis W. Coker. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934. Pp. ix, 574. \$4.00.

This volume appears at an opportune moment. When traditional ideas of government and politics have seemingly lost their attraction for large groups of people, there is obviously need for an impartial statement of alternatives. When the pretensions of groups begin to extend beyond the vaguely defined, yet generally recognized, limits of group action, then some indication of the place of these claims in political ideology is in order. And when governments generally have all but obliterated the division between individual freedom and authority, then some statement of the ethical and moral grounds for this action is of value. All of these problems receive full treatment here.

Prof. Coker is Cowles professor of government and director of graduate studies in government in Yale University. In this work he offers no rounded political philosophy of his own. Rather, the volume is "a review of dominant political ideas, as set forth in theoretical writings and active social movements, during the period from about the middle of the nineteenth century to the present day" (p. v). At the outset, a brief section is devoted to the mid-nineteenth century heritage of political ideas. This is followed by a section of seven chapters treating socialistic doctrines. Then comes a part dealing with the controversy over democracy. Finally, the baffling problem of political authority and individual liberty is considered.

Within the confines of the material handled, the author has done his task well. His effort "to maintain some sort of impartial attitude in the exposition of the doctrines" has been successful. One reaches the last page with the feeling that each school of thinkers has

had his day in court. No evidence of bias has crept into the exposition of socialistic doctrines. The evolutionary adherents of the Marxian creed appear to have been handled as fairly as the orthodox followers. Nor have the anarchists, the guild socialists, and the revolutionary syndicalists suffered from any over- or under-emphasis of the features of their teachings. Especially is this true of the more obscure aspects of these doctrines. Democracy receives its due; but the broadsides of its critics have not been weakened in order to make them appear less damaging. Believers in aristocratic and dictatorial forms are allowed to state their views in their own words, as is the case with those who advance "reasons of state" as the basis of a governmental system. And when Prof. Coker does allow himself the privilege of comment, it is to make an illuminating comparison, as, for example, in his observation that "the syndicalists and anarchists proposed social systems that afforded clear and consistent applications of the pluralists' creed of divided or discarded sovereignty" (p. 515).

But in at least two respects, there is ground for criticizing the scope of Prof. Coker's efforts. In his preface he explained why it was thought necessary to exclude considerations of the psychology of political behavior and the quantitative method as applied to political conduct. But he has failed also to include any treatment of theories of international relations and organization. Surely this field is not completely lacking in ideas. Or are there no oases of thought in this apparently barren desert? And again, the author has afforded no treatment of the ideas of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the person who galvanized China into action, nor of Dr. Maurice William, from whose volume, *The Social Interpretation of History*, Dr. Sun found the catalytic agent for his three principles of Nationalism, Democracy, and Livelihood. I have a notion that the average reader, as well as the teacher and student, would have welcomed some reference to these matters.

But there is real value in this history of ideas that has been laid out for discussion and appraisal in these pages. By using the well-organized index and the full table of contents, the secondary-school teacher can find light here to illumine the dusky corners of nationalism, fascism, and collectivism, to mention but three of the many concepts now frequently employed in discussion. And for the student of theory, the admirable bibliography at the end of each chapter should save many hours of catalog searching.

DONALD C. BLAISDELL

Williamstown, Massachusetts

Erasmii Oposcula. Edited by W. K. Ferguson. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1933. Pp. xiii, 373.

When the *Opera Omnia* of Erasmus were published at Leiden early in the eighteenth century, certain of his shorter works were for various reasons omitted; some of these had been published but others were still in manuscript, and Professor Ferguson has gathered them together in this finely printed volume, which thus serves as a supplement to and a completion of Erasmus' collected writings.

The early poems that have been included are on the whole dull; some are drawn from manuscript sources at Gouda and in the British Museum, others from the *Silva Carminum* which was first printed in 1513: the ones written before or during Erasmus' residence in the monastery at Steyn are strictly classical in manner and increasingly pious in matter. Of the poems from the British Museum, the *Carmen Extemporale* on the poet Skelton is too fulsome to have much historical value, while that of the epigrams on Julius II is bitter and effective. The attack on this pope is continued in the *Dialogus, Julius exclusus e coelis* first printed in 1517, which gives a spirited temporal papacy.

The lengthy life of Jerome (*Hieronymi Stridonensis Vita*) is more valuable for its method than for its content, for Erasmus consciously set to work to view the saint's reported achievements with the critical mind of a scholar, and to rely on Jerome's own writings rather than on miraculous stories, for "Quis rectius nouerit Hieronymum quam ipse Hieronymus?" (p. 138).

The *Dialogus Bilinguium ac Trilinguium* and the *Apologia* by which he answered the two attacks of Edward Lee both arose out of Erasmus' edition of the Greek New Testament and his insistence on the importance of the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew and the use of the canons of classical criticism, if the real truths of Christianity were to be laid bare; the *Dialogus* is much the better reading of the two.

The last three prose works included in the volume are the *Acta Academiae Lovaniensis contra Lutherum*, the *Axiomata Erasmi* and the *Consilium cuiusdam*, all published between November 1520 and February 1521 and all valuable in making clear the relationship of Erasmus to the Lutheran movement during those years; there is little doubt that it is sound to give to Erasmus the credit for a very large share in their composition.

Professor Ferguson has done his work as editor thoroughly and well; there are few typographical errors; his notes are full without being verbose and his introductory matter is admirable from both the historical and bibliographical point of view.

E. R. ADAIR

McGill University

Leisure: A Suburban Study. By George A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and Mary Alice McInerney. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. Pp. xiv, 396. \$3.00.

This work is a quite complete study of the way the half million people in a suburban county just north of New York City spend their leisure time. All but three chapters are by the senior author, Prof. Lundberg, of Columbia University, Department of Sociology. The study was made under a grant from the university's Council for Research in the Social Sciences, and with the assistance of the American Association for Adult Education and the Westchester County Recreation Commission.

The volume describes the growth of the county and its social and economic structure. It then discusses the

organization of leisure, the amount of leisure time available and its uses. There follow chapters on leisure-time organizations and the place of the family, church and school in the leisure activities of the county. Two chapters, one on art and an important one on adult education, precede the final stimulating discussion of the community recognition of the problem of leisure. There is an appendix on methodology. Throughout, interesting comparisons are made between communities of various types and population groups of different socio-economic levels.

The volume not only presents but interprets the data and includes significant comparisons with conditions elsewhere and with national trends. These features add to the book's value and raise it distinctly above the level of the ordinary survey.

Leisure-time activities are considered as those which arise from the individual's incentive, which are interesting, which differ from daily duties and which are conducive to physical, mental and social well being. What people do with their leisure is held to be a matter of social concern.

Westchester County is unique in its interest in leisure time. Its Recreational Commission is a public body. It has developed a remarkable system of parkways and has safeguarded many of its beauty spots for public purposes. One of the values of the study is the possibility of interpreting the uses Westchester's population makes of their leisure with the rather unusual resources available, resources which from one point of view represent a distribution of wealth for the social good.

Nearly 2500 persons submitted diaries to the investigators covering their leisure-time activities. The average daily hours varied from less than six for the laborer to nine for the housewife, and high-school student. Eating, visiting, and reading, in the order named, led the list and consumed an hour or more a day on the average. Entertainment, sports, and listening to the radio followed with from 30 to 40 minutes each on the average day. The high-school group spent most of their time on sports and outings and preferred their "good times" in small groups of from 3 to 10. Less than five per cent felt that their best times came in pairs.

The schools in Westchester County are well known for their excellent buildings and almost lavish facilities. Many of them have elaborate extra-curricular activities, one representative school listing 25, with all athletics counted as one.

The authors sharply criticise the schools for their instilling of the success idea as the end and aim of education and life, and present some data to show that students with the broadest experiences and training in school have been the most successful in adjusting to the difficulties of the depression years and in securing and holding of jobs. They call for less emphasis on the success aspect and a sharp expansion of recreational and art courses. In the latter respect there has been some progress of late years in Westchester. The authors conclude that "a more adequate treatment of the social sciences is the principal curricular change needed

in the schools' training for leisure." (p. 252)

With steadily increasing leisure, the average individual finds himself increasingly handicapped in the effort to gain satisfactions from life. The authors conclude that this indicates the necessity for expanded activities on the part of government "whenever some vital interest of the community can better be protected or advanced through formal organized support and direction from the public authority" (p. 351). The authors question whether the mere increase of wealth, income, and leisure in themselves increase social well-being. "Local government can provide at public cost the facilities, opportunities, and leadership for the realization of satisfaction which is in the last analysis the only purpose of either wealth or leisure" (p. 367).

The book is a valuable contribution both to the literature of leisure and to suburban sociology, a subject which has received little attention in the past from social investigators. Its values and implications considerably transcend the geographic area considered.

E. DES. BRUNNER

Teachers College, Columbia University

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Macartney, Maxwell H. H. "Italy and Germany," *The Fortnightly Review*, DCCCXIV (October, 1934).

Many interesting possibilities might have been expected from the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini in

Venice. None of these as suggested by this article can now materialise.

Soloveytschik, George. "A Northern Utopia," *The Nineteenth Century and After*, CXVI (October, 1934).

Sweden has recovered not only from the World Depression but also from the greatest local disaster of the Kreuger crash, and has become the leader of the Scandinavian North.

Dabney, Virginius. "Reds in Dixie," *Sewanee Review*, XLII (October, 1934).

The present situation in the South furnishes a fertile field for the sowing of Marxist and Communist doctrines. It will be a mistake to suppress the leaders by imprisonment or to deny them freedom of speech.

Simon, Sir E. D. "The Satellite Garden Town," *The Contemporary Review*, CXLVI (October, 1934).

There is a movement on foot to plan suburbs for large cities which shall preserve permanently all of the amenities of a large district and to include not only houses and parks but a factory area as well.

Collins, Sir William, K.C.V.O., M.S., M.D. "The International Control of Traffic in Dangerous Drugs," *The Contemporary Review*, CXLV (October, 1934).

The details of the recent action on the part of the League of Nations regarding the sale and purchase of drugs.

Zangwill, Edith. "The Conquest of the Aztec Gods," *The Contemporary Review*, CXLVI (October, 1934).

The Spaniard did not deprive the Aztecs of their civilisation but on the contrary, they replaced a religion of savagery with one that was, nominally, one of love.

Farson, Negley. "Roosevelt and the Workers," *The English Review*, LIX (October, 1934).

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Letters from Mary Stanley, sister of the Dean of Westminster, a nurse in the Crimea.

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The American farmer is perhaps the most important factor in the international situation today. The solution of his difficulties will stimulate world trade.

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Austria seems more than ready to return to a monarchy under the Hapsburgs, and Roumania is ready to support her; Yugoslavia would oppose such a movement, fearing it would mean a restoration of the former boundaries of the Dual Monarchy.

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In the Soviet state there is more actual participation in the government by the rank and file of the proletariat than there is in any of the so-called democracies.

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The Chinese outlook on life, born of an impervious mental tranquillity, has done more to shape the national history than armies, treaty ports, or forms of government.

Chamberlin, W. H. "Russia Through Colored Glasses," *The Fortnightly Review*, DCCCXIV (October, 1934).

Censorship in Russia has been of little service and of great damage to the cause of the Soviet Government.

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Political utopianism is in essence irreligious and ultimately disastrous to humanity.

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The author tells his experiences in collecting folk songs from under-world darkies. A number of songs are included here.

Maddox, W. P. "Labor and the Storm Over Europe," *Southwest Review*, XIX (Winter, 1934).

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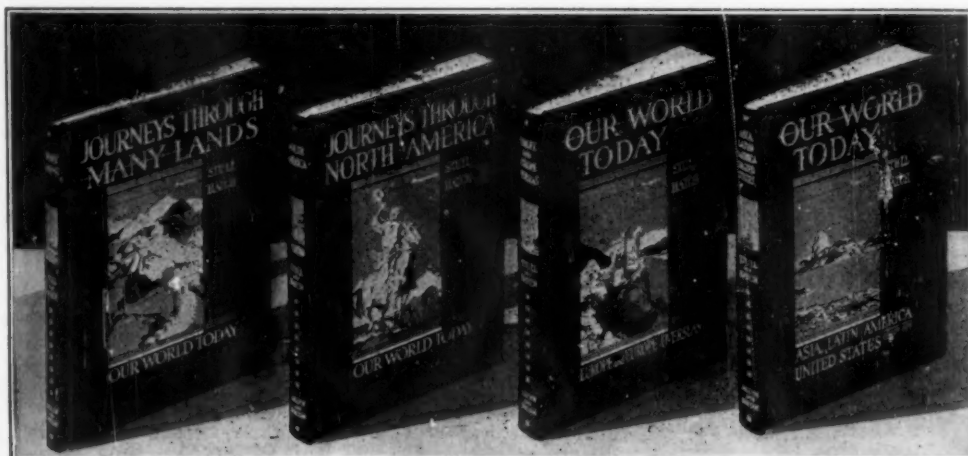
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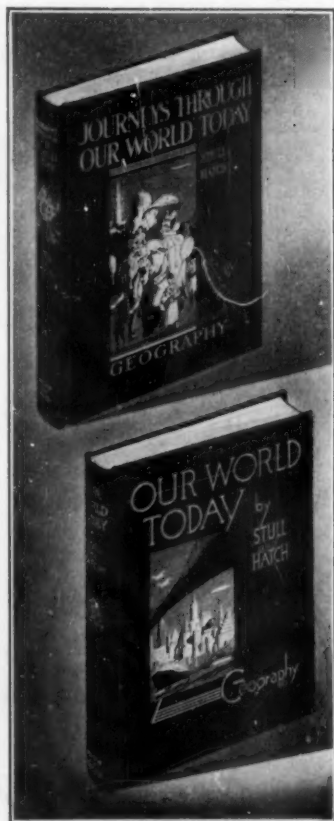


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